

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM HUTCHINS

FIRST ARCHDEACON OF VAN DIEMENS LAND

by .

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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or graduate diploma in any university and, to the best of the candidate's knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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## THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM HUTCHINS

### PRÉCIS OF CONTENTS

The thesis seeks to examine and evaluate the life of the first Archdeacon of Van Diemen's Land who would have become its first Bishop had he not died prematurely.

The Introduction argues that there is an important middle ground between believer and unbeliever, that of nominal Christianity, upon which Hutchins set great store. As a conservative evangelical in the Simeon mould he regarded the Establishment as preserving Christian assumptions and categories of thought. Having observed radicalism in England and France, Hutchins opposed a liberalism which merely meant breaking free from assumptions, because it led to the loss of categories of thought and would eventually produce an inability to respond to Christian modes; he also opposed a utilitarianism that promoted only secular knowledge. Hutchins wished to establish on a permanent foundation in Van Diemen's Land a Christian society that could withstand the inroads of liberal secularism, and he wished also to maintain a public system of education which would induct children into such a society. He knew the financial and ecclesiastical difficulties in England but he did not foresee the political problems he would meet in Australia.

The first three chapters show how Hutchins's family, university and parish background confirmed in him the view that the Establishment was the way in which Christian attitudes and modes of thought could best be preserved, and that the established church had a special moral role to play in guiding and influencing the government. Chapters Four and Five describe the situation in Van Diemen's Land which led to Hutchins being called from his remote Derbyshire village parish. Chapters Six and Seven show some of the contrasts between England and Australia; for example minor controversies and time consuming trivialities beset clergy in both places but in the intense atmosphere of Van Diemen's Land they became significant and potentially disruptive. The Church Extension Act of 1837 and its consequences are dealt with in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten. For Hutchins the quarrel was not whether aid should be given to denominations other than the Anglican: he agreed with that. He was concerned rather with the principle of establishment and the desirability of having a Parish Church in every community, an outcome not possible under the Act. Bishop Broughton's visitation of 1838, described in Chapter Eleven, did not advance the cause of establishment, nor did his tractarian tendencies enhance the image of the Church of England as a Via Media.

Chapter Twelve tells the story of Governor Franklin's vacillation over the education question and demonstrates how the Presbyterians aided the cause of the secularists by separating public education from religion, despite Hutchins's warnings. Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen deal with other issues in which the Archdeacon found himself at odds with the Colonial Government but demonstrate how much his advice and assistance was valued by the Governor. The last three chapters attempt an assessment of his life and work in the light of the profound impact which his death made and has continued to make.

## INTRODUCTION

William Hutchins became the first Archdeacon of Van Diemen's Land at the end of 1836, a critical year in the history of the Colony. In New South Wales British Liberalism had its champion in Richard Bourke for whom the breakdown of the Anglican monopoly was part of the revolt against autocracy; Bourke opposed any exclusive claims by the Church of England and he provided the means by which Catholic and Non-conformists could express their hostility to the establishment.<sup>1</sup> In Van Diemen's Land the influence of liberalism had been limited by the presence of Governor Arthur, but he was recalled in 1836 and the new wave of liberalism arrived with Sir John Franklin, his successor, in 1837.

This liberalism meant among other things a free church in a free State. Colonists thought that freedom of worship depended on the absence of an established and privileged church, according to recent historians. The ministrations of the clergy were said to have little effect, and attendances at church were held to be never very great. The seed sown by parsons "fell on the stony ground of a generation of men who had not drifted into or been unconverted to unbelief, but had never known any belief".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Roe, Michael "1830-1850" in Crowley, Frank (ed), A New History of Australia, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1974) pp.82-87; Hartwell, R.M. "The Pastoral Ascendancy 1820-1850" in Greenwood, Gordon, (Ed). Australia: A Social and Political History, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1955), p.59.

<sup>2</sup>Clark, C.M.H., A History of Australia, Vol.II. New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1822-1838. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1968), p.170; Crowley, F.K., "The Foundation Years 1788-1821" in Greenwood, op.cit. p.39.

There was opposition to the Church of England from some Catholics and some dissenters and there were a few who regarded the Anglican Church as part of the autocratic system against which they were fighting.<sup>3</sup> But the hostility has been exaggerated and generalized especially in relation to Van Diemen's Land. There is less feeling of division and bitterness in John West's History of Tasmania than in some more recent accounts.<sup>4</sup> The "disciples of religious liberty" who confronted the Church of England at all times<sup>5</sup> were few in number though vociferous and self-assured.<sup>6</sup> Clark and Nadel write as if the early colonists were led into secularism by listening to its prophets.<sup>7</sup> It is arguable that secularism, especially in the area of education, emerged and triumphed more by default than by design. It was not that the colonists opposed the Church of England to which many of them belonged, but they were prepossessed by material considerations. British Liberalism flourished in an age marked by the apotheosis of man and the dilution of Christian doctrine to the lowest common denominator. It has been noted that the early Anglican chaplains all sprang from the evangelical mould;<sup>8</sup> too little perhaps has been made of the individualism which linked much of 19th Century

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<sup>3</sup>Hartwell, op.cit. p.60; Clark, op.cit. pp.155,172-175; Nadel, George, Australia's Colonial Culture, (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1957), pp.239-248; Barrett, John, That Better Country, The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia 1835-1850, (Melbourne: Melb.University Press, 1966) p.31 et passim; Roe, Michael, Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851, (Melbourne: Melb.University Press 1965), p.15 et passim.

<sup>4</sup>West, John, The History of Tasmania (Ed.A.G.L.Shaw) (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1971). First published 1852, cf. pp.149-157.

<sup>5</sup>Hartwell, op.cit., p.59.

<sup>6</sup>Mansfield, Ralph, New South Wales Magazine, December 1843, p.298.

<sup>7</sup>Clark, op.cit. p.161; Nadel, op.cit. pp.256,257.

<sup>8</sup>Auchmuty, J.J. "1810-1830" in Crowley, op.cit. p.55.

evangelicalism with the secular humanism of some liberals, making strange bedfellows in the fight against Tractarian authoritarianism.<sup>9</sup> Such evangelical Anglicans are gathered up with dissenters under the heading "Protestantism", and the "Church of England" talked about by some historians ceases to be a body of people with their clergy and becomes identified merely with a Tory like William Broughton, Bishop of Australia from 1836 to 1853. The historical picture which has been given is of a Church losing its influence because it was autocratic in method and Tory in politics.<sup>10</sup>

In education, that great moral panacea of 19th Century Australia, the Church of England in the person of Broughton was condemned for its prejudice and resistance to change.<sup>11</sup> What is often not clarified is the kind of change which churchmen resisted: for example they deplored the emergence of the sort of school advocated by Henry Carmichael where no one would be taught religious opinions and no attempt would be made to pledge a man to any creed; on the contrary every encouragement would be given to the pupils to form opinions of their own. Carmichael unlike the churchmen, believed that with Enlightenment men would have life and have it more abundantly.<sup>12</sup> Not a few Australian historians share the view blandly expressed by Matthew Arnold that the schools when free from sectarian

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<sup>9</sup>c.f. Nadel, Op.Cit. pp.246,247,248.

<sup>10</sup>Clark, Op.Cit. pp.241,246.

<sup>11</sup>Shaw, G.P., Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton 1788-1853. Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic. Melbourne: Melb. University Press, 1978, p.102; Barrett, John, That Better Country, Melbourne: Melb.University Press, 1966, pp.115 F.

<sup>12</sup>Clark, Op.Cit., p.218.



war, would find themselves "drawing the breath of liberty in a desert where no water is".<sup>13</sup> Hardly any have yet conceded that secularism has proved more subversive of freedom than ever Christianity was, and despite the theory of moral enlightenment, has quite failed in moral education. It has been said<sup>14</sup> that the colonists became indifferent to religious feelings because they were searching for unity and found sectarianism divisive. Further it has been implied that moral enlightenment provides the common cultus which undergirds the unity of the Australian people; a national psyche has replaced a national church, and the process of replacement began in the critical period under review in this paper.

Hutchins was unlike the stereotype Anglican parson berated by radical writers. He was a conservative but in the Peelite sense; he was a strong churchman without being a Tractarian; he was an evangelical who valued the traditional and the corporate; and he was a Christian who put sympathy and kindness before rules and regulations.<sup>15</sup> His ready acceptance by the community of Van Diemen's Land suggests that the colonists agreed generally with his views and would have supported him in his endeavours had he lived long enough to overcome the initial setbacks in the passing of the Church Act and the setting up of a Board of Education. In the two major areas of Church Establishment and National Schools, Hutchins failed to achieve his aims though he enjoyed some compensatory gains in the organisation of parish life and in the establishment of an educational tradition.

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<sup>13</sup>Arnold, Matthew, Culture and Anarchy, (ed. J. Dover Wilson) (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. xxxvii.

<sup>14</sup>Nadel, Op.Cit., p.252.

<sup>15</sup>c.f. Auchmuty, Op.Cit., p.55.

He was an evangelical in the Simeon mould who did not wish to unchurch all who were not "born again" Christians as did most evangelicals; he rated highly the ministry of word and sacrament to every parishioner. On the other hand, Hutchins had no sympathy for the Puseyites and he did not agree with the view of episcopacy held by Bishop Broughton of Sydney and Bishop Nixon, the man who succeeded Hutchins as the head of the Church in Van Diemen's Land. He was different enough from them to provoke the question, what might have happened in Tasmania if Hutchins rather than Nixon had become the first bishop of the new diocese.

Hutchins came to Van Diemen's Land as a result of Governor Arthur's desire to obtain effective leadership in the areas of religion and education. Arthur began the search for an Archdeacon for Van Diemen's Land in April 1826 when he indicated to the Secretary of State that a mere Rural Dean would not have the authority which he deemed necessary in the conditions that prevailed within the Church and within the Colony.<sup>16</sup> In March of 1827 the Governor again pleaded for a resident head to the Church,<sup>17</sup> and he repeated his request in May of 1832.<sup>18</sup> He got as Rural Dean, Philip Palmer, an appointment which brought him little satisfaction. Shortly afterwards Broughton became a Bishop and to all intents and purposes a Tractarian. How would it be possible to find an Archdeacon acceptable to a High Church Bishop as well as to a Governor who preferred the Methodists to the Anglicans? At Broughton's consecration service in Lambeth Chapel, the select preacher was J.E.N. Molesworth, who had

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<sup>16</sup> Arthur to Bathurst, 21 April 1826. H.R.A.III, V. p.151.

<sup>17</sup> Arthur to Bathurst, 24 March 1827. H.R.A.III, V. p.698.

<sup>18</sup> Arthur to Howick, 9 May 1832. GO 33/11, A.C.T.

been Vicar of Wirksworth with William Hutchins as his curate. Broughton, Hutchins's contemporary at Cambridge, perhaps remembered that Hutchins, a convinced Anglican was also an evangelical such as would appeal to Arthur; anyway he recommended him to Lord Glenelg.

After four and a half years of arduous work as Archdeacon, Hutchins died, leaving no heirs, little money and few records. Although his name is as well known in Australia as that of any churchman very little has been written of the man himself. His wife after only nine months of married life returned sadly to England. Following a brief stay with a brother, Dr. Owen, of Stockwell near London, Mrs. Hutchins went to live at Partis College, a home for distressed gentlewomen situated in Bath. When she died in 1868 her few effects went to her sister Harriet Palmer, the wife of Hobart's Rural Dean, by then living in the Cambridge Clergy Widows Houses. Harriet and her daughter, Sophia, seem to have been cared for by the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and Orphans of Clergymen in the County of Cambridge and Isle of Ely, but there is no record of their demise.<sup>19</sup> If therefore Rachel Hutchins had any memorabilia of her husband they have been lost to posterity, which makes the piecing together of his life more difficult. What is clear from the fate of his widow is that Archdeacon Hutchins's generous donations to the building funds of the churches he wanted to see built were personally costly; he could never be accused as some clergymen have been of making money from a position of privilege and influence, nor can

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<sup>19</sup>Partis College Records. Partis College, Newbridge Road, Bath, Somerset. Note:- Hutchins died intestate with an estate of less than two thousand pounds.

he be described as a member of the Tory ruling class anxious to preserve the status quo for reasons of self-interest or class loyalty.

The School which was named after him has existed in Tasmania for more than 130 years and for all that time the name of "Hutchins" has been honoured and remembered with affection by generations of boys who knew the school but knew almost nothing of the person. In the general histories there is an odd reference or two which picture him as the Tasmanian lieutenant of Bishop Broughton standing obstinately in the way of progress in matters ecclesiastical and educational.<sup>20</sup> The entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography pictures him as a controversial pamphleteer, and repeats a few statements about his life whose accuracy had already been questioned by Basil Rait's brief account of him in the Official History of the School published in 1935.<sup>21</sup>

When the Hutchins School opened, the first Headmaster, the Reverend J.R.Buckland, expressed the hope that the pupils of the school would always keep before them 'the venerable example of so good a man', and on the same occasion John Philip Gell spoke of 'one of the best and holiest men whose bones as yet consecrate the soil of Van Diemen's Land.'<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> c.f. Austin, A.G., Australian Education 1788-1950 (Melbourne: Pitman, 1961) pp. 71, 73. Barrett, John, That Better Country (Melb.: Melb. University Press, 1966). Border, Ross, Church and State in Australia, London, S.P.C.K., 1962). Fitzpatrick, Kathleen, Sir John Franklin in Tasmania, (Melbourne, Melb. University Press, 1949). Roe, Michael, Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, (Melbourne, Melb. University Press, and Australian National University, 1965). West, John, The History of Tasmania, Ed. A.G.L. Shaw (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1971) First published Launceston, Henry Dowling 1852.

<sup>21</sup> Dollery, E.M., Article on Hutchins in A.D.B., Vol. I. pp. 573, 574. Rait, Basil, The Official History of the Hutchins School, (Hobart: J. Walch, 1935) Introduction.

<sup>22</sup> Rait, Op.Cit., pp. 42, 48.

The purpose of the present work is to flesh out this obviously remarkable man after whom the School was named, keeping in mind the background against which he lived his life.

It seems clear that Hutchins held two ideas very strongly. Unlike some evangelicals he valued highly "nominal Christianity"; and he believed that education should be Christian. Those of his writings which survive, stress these two points; they can also be illustrated from a publications called "The Guardian" in which he must have had some influence.<sup>23</sup> One of the young chaplains who came out to Van Diemen's Land with Hutchins, the Reverend M.J.Mayers, edited nine editions of this magazine in 1837, the first publication appearing in March. He would not have published without Hutchins's knowledge and consent; and most likely he had his help on the voyage out. At any rate the opinions expressed on some issues and even the language used are very like Hutchins's own.

He saw as "one of the signs of the times" that what was called useful knowledge did not include religious knowledge. Usefulness was to be found in the "mechanical arts, the sciences and history" but embraced "little or<sup>24</sup> nothing of what bears relationship to the soul and eternity". Every man, in a civilized and Christian community stood in

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<sup>23</sup>c.f.Hutchins, W., Letter in Reply to Lillie, (Hobart: Wm.Gore Elliston, 1837). Sermon on Behalf of the Combined Societies, (Hobart: Wm.Gore Elliston, 1839). Hutchins to Gardiner, 9 February, 1838. Letterbook. Broughton in Reply to an Address of Welcome. H.T.C., 27 April, 1838, for views on Nominal Christianity";

Hutchins, W., Letter on the School Question (Hobart, W.G.Elliston 1839); Hutchins, W., Memorandum in Letter Book on Captain Cheyne's Recommendation of books for Road Parties, 5 July 1837; Executive Council Minutes, 25 June, 1838, for views on Education.

<sup>24</sup>"The Guardian", Vol.I, No.1, p.1. (Hobart: W.G.Elliston, 1837).



need of three different sorts of education - one to fit him for his own immediate calling or business in life, which might be termed his professional education; - another to teach him the social and relative duties of life, as a citizen and member of society, which might be termed his moral and political education; - and a third, to teach him his relationship to God, and his duties as a creature destined for immortality, which might be termed his religious education. More especially, the first two could only be properly carried out in the context of the third. The education that all men needed was one which inculcated a "fear of God, and the love of our neighbour, and which leads us to think of the wants and interests of others". This was the education which would make a man and a people wise, good and happy.

Such a view of education was under attack by those who scoffed at and rejected Revelation, and it was this attack which concerned Hutchins, for he believed that the society which had given the critics the freedom to make their attacks was in the long term endangered by them. Christianity had "drawn a new boundary line" between what was base and honourable, and was so interwoven with the whole constitution and framework of society that people had forgotten what Christianity had done "for the moralising and softening down all that (was) degraded and rugged in the nature of man". It was important to remember its benignant influence on the customs and institutions of a land in which it was received "even nominally".

Christianity, even though it be but nominally received is sure to bring in its train improvements in whatever tends to elevate a nation, and to bring comfort and respectability to its families and households. 25

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<sup>25</sup>"The Guardian", Vol.I, No.1., pp.3, 4.

As an evangelical Hutchins was concerned that individuals should make a personal commitment to Christ and should order their lives according to that commitment. But he was also anxious that Van Diemen's Land should be a Christian country in the sense in which T.S.Eliot has used that term. That was the reason for his opposition to any measure which seemed to treat religion as an optional extra. He realised the importance of a single coherent culture in which there would be a general consensus on values; in which religion and morals could readily be taught, and in which education for work would take place in a liberal atmosphere. Hutchins's brief career as Archdeacon was dedicated to these ends: to establish on a permanent basis a Christian society which could withstand the inroads of liberal secularism, and to promote a public system of education which would induct children into such a society.

Hutchins's birth, background and training had given him a deep appreciation of the Church of England as the National Church and he was determined 'to uphold her by the blessing of God, as having been the great bulwark of the Protestant faith, the faith of the reformation, for ages past'.<sup>26</sup> He took seriously his ordination vows to be local to the doctrine, sacraments and discipline 'as this Church and Realm hath received the same' and to 'banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines'; in his view the best interest of the Church of England were served

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<sup>26</sup>Hutchins, William. A Sermon on behalf of the Van Diemen's Land Committee of the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. (Hobart: Wm.Gore Elliston; 1839) pp.30,31.

by faithfully maintaining her principles and practice.<sup>27</sup>

He regarded the Church as a National Established Church whose "Articles, Creeds, and Discipline are approved by the national Legislative<sup>28</sup> and which had the responsibility of ministering to all people of the "nation".

He knew the value of unity in a church whose ministers were widely separated and seems to have determined to use his office to that end, not allowing anything to interfere with the duties of his appointment, nor permitting anybody to interpose between him and his clergy. As an evangelical he knew the tension which existed between personal conviction and church loyalty and the possibility of disunion when missionary stations went their own way.

The S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., of which Hutchins was a member, were societies concerned with counteracting the activities of the Roman Church. Well into the 19th Century the catalogue of books in the reports of the S.P.C.K. regularly had a special list with the heading "Against Popery".<sup>30</sup> He was not prepared to compromise with error, and refused to accept "that the religious sentiments of the Roman Catholic" were true, since the Catholic church was "considered by the whole Protestant world as the great corrupter

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<sup>27</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 16 December 1839, in Documents published in J.D.Loch General Religious Education (Hobart, Mandoynnee, 1843), p.xxxvi.

<sup>28</sup>Hutchins, Letter addressed to the Rev. John Lillie (Hobart: William Gore Elliston, 1837) p.6.

<sup>29</sup>Hutchins, A Sermon. Op.Cit. p.30; Hutchins to Franklin 1 August, 1838, L.B.p.313; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 3 August, 1838, L.B.315; c.f. also Cnattingius, Hans, Bishops and Societies, (London: S.P.C.K., 1952) pp.39, 40, 79; c.f. Auchmuty, Op.Cit., p.57.

<sup>30</sup>Cnattingius, Hans, Bishops and Societies. A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion 1698-1850 (London: S.P.C.K. 1952), pp.42, 43.



of the word and ordinances of God".<sup>31</sup> He saw more clearly than some others the danger of treating religious error in the same way as religious truth. He was to warn against those who doubted "whether truth is indeed of paramount importance; or whether it can be so clearly discovered; whether its marks and boundaries can be so clearly defined as to enable us satisfactorily to determine where it exists"<sup>32</sup>. He believed that there was an important difference between toleration of people who followed erroneous beliefs and toleration of those beliefs.

As an evangelical he was liberal and tolerant towards all, even though a few members of protestant denominations accused him of bigotry. His zeal for the Anglican church was accompanied by a breadth of sympathy, such as that exhibited by some of his clerical colleagues in England. Among early supporters of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Basil Wood most cordially venerated and loved the truly Apostolic Church of England and yet was ready to help Dissenter missions. The Revd. William Goode thought the English Church more conformable in its fundamental constitution, to apostolic order and the primitive discipline of the Church, than any other, but it was not necessary to unchristianize other churches, to exalt his own. William Jowett, at Cambridge during Hutchins's time there, was able to implore a special blessing on the

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<sup>31</sup> Petition from the Archdeacon and certain of the Clergy of the Church of England to his Excellency...and the Honourable Members of the Legislative Council in Hobart Town Courier, 24 November 1837; Hutchins, A Sermon, Op.Cit. p.28; Hutchins, Letter to Lillie, Op.Cit. p.6.

<sup>32</sup> Hutchins, A Sermon, Op.Cit. pp.26,27.

Anglican church without disparaging foreign Protestant churches or Denominations of Reformed Christians.<sup>33</sup> So too, Hutchins maintained the principles and practice of the Church of England in a spirit of Christian kindness and benevolence as well as of Christian firmness. He saw it as his duty to hold to the truth unswervingly "so long as an unbounded liberty is given" to other denominations to defend and propagate their own opinions, and he showed his own tolerance by calling them "our Christian brethren".<sup>34</sup>

Hutchins was aware that Nonconformity was growing in England. In the House of Lords in 1810, Lord Harrowby had prophesied that one day the majority of the nation would be Nonconformist and in 1811 the Dissenters reckoned themselves to be twenty per cent of the population.<sup>35</sup> He also knew that most Methodists, Congregationalists and Independents were friendly towards the Established Church.<sup>36</sup> In 1833 the reformed House of Commons had almost unanimously rejected a motion that an Established Church was of no benefit to the country, with two votes only in favour of the motion.<sup>37</sup> Nonconformists shared with Anglicans the view that Establishment was the surest bulwark against inroads by the Church of Rome.

Hutchins's convictions about the primacy of the Established Church led him to hold strong views on the role

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<sup>33</sup>Cnatteningius, Hans. Op.Cit. p.60.

<sup>34</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 16 December 1839, Loch, Op.Cit. pp. xxxviii, xxxix; Hutchins, A Sermon, Op.Cit. pp.28,29.

<sup>35</sup>Halévy, Elie, England in 1815. Translated by E.I.Watkin and D.A.Barker, 2nd Ed. (London: Ernest Benn, 1949) p.428.

<sup>36</sup>Halévy, Elie, The Triumph of Reform, Translated by E.I.Watkin (London: Ernest Benn, 2nd Ed. 1949), pp.154,156.

<sup>37</sup>Halévy, The Triumph of Reform, Op.Cit. p.166.

of the Church of England in education. Missionary endeavour arising from the Evangelical Revival relied mainly upon preaching and conversion; Hutchins, like some other evangelicals set more store on education and instruction.<sup>38</sup> He had heard his Archdeacon, Samuel Butler, emphasize not only the vital necessity of teaching "genuine and practical religion",<sup>39</sup> but also of providing the proper environment for the training and education of the young. Hutchins realised that what was taught in school - and accepted in the home - would come to be regarded as the necessary things to learn. He believed that "truth" was to be found in the Word of God and that a Christian education must be according to the principles of scripture, "as they are embodied and held forth in her (the church's) catechism, creeds, articles, and liturgy". He considered that the Church was being assailed by the spirits of indifference and infidelity and therefore required from her members "exertions which rival the efforts of her best days".<sup>40</sup>

He was convinced that learning without sound religion did not "ameliorate either the manners or the morals of those upon whom it is conferred".<sup>41</sup> He was aware of the danger of neglecting Christian instruction in the endeavour to impart a liberal education. It was important to provide sound, useful, secular knowledge provided people did not have extravagant expectations of the good to be derived from the more general diffusion of

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<sup>38</sup>Hutchins, A Sermon, Op.Cit. pp.4,24,33; c.f. also Hans Cnattengius, Op.Cit. pp.74,75.

<sup>39</sup>Butler, 1825 Charge, quoted in Austin, M.R., Op.Cit. p.15

<sup>40</sup>Hutchins, Loc.Cit.

<sup>41</sup>Hutchins, William, A Letter on the School Question, (Hobart: Wm.Gore Elliston, 1839), p.5.

knowledge. In Hutchins's view it was not to literature and science that men must look for the regeneration of a fallen world; but to that of Christian truth. He would never consent to the introduction of any system of education that was not Christian unless there were an absolute impossibility of introducing a Christian one.<sup>42</sup>

Hutchins did not underestimate the strength of the movement that valued "science" and "human reason" above the tenets of Christianity. He may even have shared the opinion that the French war had been fought for the preservation of Christian society. A number of church leaders had spoken of an international conspiracy against religion led by infidels and radicals, which had to be vigorously opposed.<sup>43</sup> He would have known that in the society to which he was going there would be scepticism, polite disbelief, indifference, and "unplumbed depths of barbarous ignorance".<sup>44</sup> He also knew that services and sermons needed to be improved in several places.<sup>45</sup> He was prepared to meet these difficulties.

Nor would Hutchins have held any delusions about the shortage of money. As a missionary on the list of the S.P.G. he would have known the Society's policy, which was to expect congregations to pay clerical stipends themselves once they had been assisted in the beginning from the Society's funds.<sup>46</sup> Confronted with "the spirit of the time" churchmen had begun to realise that they could not obtain

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid. pp.8,9.

<sup>43</sup>Soloway, R.A. Prelates and People 1783-1852 (London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1969) pp.26-45; Hutchins, A Letter on the School Question, Op.Cit. pp.7,8. c.f. also Halevy, England in 1815, Op.Cit., p.417.

<sup>44</sup>Clark, Kitson. Op.Cit. p.42.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid; c.f. also Overton and Relton, Op.Cit., p.294.

<sup>46</sup>Cnattinius, Hans, Op.Cit., p.66.

sufficient financial help from the temporal authorities.<sup>47</sup> The home government did not expect the colonial clergy to be paid more than a low rate of stipend, and made it clear that the inhabitants should pay half the salaries of the clergy. He was ready then to cope with the economies that would be forced on him and knew that church members would have to prove their discipleship through their giving.<sup>48</sup>

He was coming from a country where building of new churches was one mark of the revival of religious life. His own bishop, Henry Ryder of Lichfield-Coventry in a Charge to his clergy in 1832, called for more sittings in churches, especially free places for the poor.<sup>49</sup> At the time of the Reform Bill the Treasury had spent nearly one and a half million pounds on new churches and chapels. Between 1801 and 1831 Anglicans had built four hundred and twenty eight churches and in the decade to 1841 six hundred and sixty seven would be built.<sup>50</sup> Unless people went to church, Christianity could not long survive in the nation; and if there were no churches, people could not go. Hutchins was determined that every district should have its parish church and its own parson so far as that was possible.<sup>51</sup>

He would not have been ignorant of the tension that could arise between the ecclesiastical and temporal powers.

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<sup>47</sup>Buchanan, Claudius, Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment (London: Cadell & Davies, 1813) p.34; Bourke to Stanley, 11 March 1834, H.R.A. Series I, Vol. XVIII, p.394; Goderich to Arthur, 26 February 1831. Dispatch 19 (Inwards) A.O.T.

<sup>48</sup>c.f. Hutchins to Aislabie, 27 March 1838. Letterbook, p.236; also Hutchins, A Sermon, Op.Cit., p.3.

<sup>49</sup>Soloway, R.A. Op.Cit., p.299.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid, p.298; Brown, C.K.Francis, Op.Cit., p.237.

<sup>51</sup>Hutchins, W. A Sermon, Op.Cit., pp.32-37.



In 1818 the Church Missionary Society had sought legal advice about the relationship between the Bishop and the Chaplains of the East India Company. The expert opinion had been that a Bishop must have control of the clergy working in his diocese, that he alone had the right to license them, and that he had the right to "silence" them. The clergy of a diocese whether presented by the Crown, by Companies, by individuals, or by the Bishop, were all under the same jurisdiction. The King's Advocate had declared that all clergy belonging to the Church of England employed in any ministry in the Diocese of Calcutta were subject to the authority of the Bishop.<sup>52</sup> As the Bishop's commissary, Hutchins would not allow this authority to be diminished even though he would want to retain the link between Church and State that was part of the special privilege of establishment.<sup>53</sup>

Hutchins brought with him to Van Diemen's Land the goodwill of the S.P.G. of which body he seems to have been a respected member. In the late thirties the S.P.G. decided to expand its activities in the colonies.<sup>54</sup> The society felt that it would be committing sin before God if it allowed the colonies to grow up in practical atheism. A resolution was passed that because of the success in sending out chaplains to Australia and in the light of the large sums raised in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land the society would "shrink from no exertion".<sup>55</sup> In fact the income of the society was considerably increased as the result of widespread public

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<sup>52</sup>Cnattingius, Hans. Op.Cit., pp.86,87,89,113.

<sup>53</sup>c.f. The Derbyshire Mercury, 24 December 1828.

<sup>54</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1838, pp. 21F.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid. c.f. also Hutchins, A Sermon, Op.Cit., p.32.

meetings in England.<sup>56</sup> Hutchins's good standing with the society was maintained during his time in the colony and the Church in the Island benefited as a consequence.

When Hutchins left England the Church was rapidly recovering from the shocks of past years and there was a buoyant hope to match the challenge of a new age. He came from a country remarkable for its intense religious life and high level of culture.<sup>57</sup> He fully understood the opportunities and responsibilities of the parish priest. He was able, had a pleasing and agreeable personality, a good voice, and a dignified bearing.<sup>58</sup> He was also a leader with strong convictions and a resolute character. It would be odd if such a person did not have an influence on the society to which he came. In assessing Hutchins's influence and the influence of the Church in 19th Century Tasmania, there are three major factors to be considered: the Spirit of the Age, the pressure for reform, and the place of religion in the daily lives of the people.

The Scientific Revolution, the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution had led many Europeans towards the apotheosis of Man as individual and the assessment of men in terms of the things in their possession. Other features of the second quarter of the 19th Century in Tasmania were the discovery and settlement of new areas, the growth of free emigration, the development of private enterprise and representative government, and communal efforts to throw off

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<sup>56</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1839, pp.23F; c.f. Cnattingius, Hans., Op.Cit., p.109.

<sup>57</sup>Halévy, England in 1815, Op.Cit., p.387.

<sup>58</sup>Mrs. Williams's Journal in Brown., Op.Cit., 23 January, 1837, p.64.

the taint of moral decadence.<sup>59</sup> Success in moving along the road from prison to paradise encouraged belief in growth and progress as ideals. As men succeeded in solving, without assistance, all the little difficulties which their practical life presented, they came to believe in their self-sufficiency; what they could not explain they tended to ignore. In Australia, as T.L.Suttor has commented, novelty, the lack of tradition, the retreating frontier, and the emphasis on utility and adaptability "favoured the liberty-progress religion".<sup>60</sup>

However, when Hutchins arrived in Van Diemen's Land at the beginning of 1837, religion still played an important part in the life of the colonists.<sup>61</sup> Despite a shortage of clergymen and despite conflict among the few who had taken up chaplaincies, regular services were being held which attracted sizeable congregations. There was little rivalry between the denominations themselves and where there was no Anglican priest, ministers of one of the two Presbyterian communions were accepted as chaplains; in contrast with the situation in the United Kingdom there existed little anti-catholic feeling in the community. Robert Knopwood, still ministering the Gospel after thirty three years in the colony, for all his faults had set a high standard of friendliness and tolerance. The Church was a significant and influential institution of society while the Bible and the Prayer Book were books fairly well known. The very fact

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<sup>59</sup>c.f. Williamson, James A., A Short History of British Expansion 5th Ed. (London: MacMillan & Co.Ltd.1964) p.92; also Clarke, F.G., The Land of Contrarieties, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press 1977)p.162.

<sup>60</sup>Suttor, T.L., Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia 1788-1870, (Melbourne: Melb.University Press 1965) pp.244, 245.

<sup>61</sup>West, Op.Cit., p.164.



that some clergy were criticized for their lack of zeal is testimony to a general concern about religion. Bible and Prayer Book injunctions informed consciences, modified characters, and induced attitudes which can only adequately be defined in Christian terms; above all, people believed in God and in an after life that would bring an accounting. Insufficient attention has been given to the effect which church-going, Christian schooling and household prayers had upon the minds of children. There were powerful distractions in a land where settlers had to struggle to carve out a living, and the attraction of materialism was very great to people who found their fortunes improving in the new colony, however shady their antecedents had been. Nonetheless, a Christian upbringing was still having a profound effect.

Hutchins spent the first few months of 1837 establishing his office, getting to know the Colony, and laying the base for the parochial administration which he hoped to set up. At the same time he threw himself vigorously into the superintendence of the government schools. His attention to detail and his insistence on high standards of service together with a warm regard for people made a considerable impact whose long-term effect has only recently been acknowledged.

In the middle of the year a Bill for a Church Act was introduced into the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land and Hutchins found himself at once in the middle of a sectarian battle. He was not against aid to other denominations; that had already been introduced by Governor Arthur. What he resisted was the possibility of the Anglican Church

- the National Church - being effectively excluded from a district where a group of Presbyterians might organise a petition for a church before one had been completed for the Church of England. He also opposed the principle that the Catholic Church, which Hutchins regarded as deviant from the truth, should be regarded by the Government as equally acceptable in teaching and practice. He had no objection to denominations being allowed to provide a ministry for their adherents provided that the National Church with its parochial system and its schools was present to preserve the national way of life. This realistic and tolerant approach has not been recognised by historians of the period.<sup>62</sup>

Professor Suttor has spoken of an extremely broad alliance "combining all sorts of contradictory interests and opinion" held together by the common bond of anti-popery. Bishop Broughton was included in this huge, ramshackle alliance as well as the secularist, Robert Lowe. This union of "extreme fissiparous Protestantism and out-and-out secularism" became dominated by the secularist side and the complete secularization of society and education was the eventual outcome.<sup>63</sup> Hutchins was not a party to any such alliance nor did he believe that the Christian basis of society could be preserved by some programme of political collaboration among the denominations, a view held by many 19th Century liberals. He seems to have been impressed by the opinions and by the effectiveness of his own Archdeacon in Derbyshire, Samuel Butler, who charged his clergy to pay special attention

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<sup>62</sup>c.f. Barrett, Op.Cit., pp.37,38.

<sup>63</sup>Suttor, T.L., Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia 1788-1870, Melbourne: Melb.University Press, 1965. pp.129-133.

to "giving a right direction to the minds of the rising generation". In his charge of 1825<sup>64</sup> Butler had claimed that innovators of the day were anxious to prevent the clergy from doing this work in order to minimize the influence of the Church. These innovators "know and feel and fear the moral as well as the religious influence of the clergy in society". They wanted to exclude clergy from many of their duties and disfranchise them from their civil rights so that the Church would be unable to prevent the "inroads of dissolute infidelity". Butler had pointed out that religious duties were in fact social duties and that it was the essential role of the clergy to train the rising generation in the way that it should go. If the moral fabric of society were to be preserved the National Church had to provide a National education.

Hutchins saw such a Church as an organism which had grown from a Biblical ground through the experiences of history, not as some motley collection of people and opinions organised on the Arnoldian premise of expediency. He realised that only three denominations had the strength to exercise an abiding influence on Australian society and prevent the growth of secularism. The Catholic Church with its world establishment could do it, but Hutchins believed that Church to be unbiblical in its existing form and, in any event, Catholicism had little impact in mid 19th Century Van Diemen's Land. The Presbyterian Church, once they had resolved their dispute, might do it; and Hutchins would have given them the opportunity to try if circumstances had been different. The only church with sufficient support

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<sup>64</sup>Austin, M.R., The Church in Derbyshire in 1823-4. Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. 5., 1969-1970, p.15.

to undertake the task of teaching and preserving a Christian way of life was the Anglican; of this Hutchins was utterly convinced.

Hutchins maintained all along that the real enemy was secularism, and declared that the Government's policy in relation to religion and education could well lead to the downfall of Christian society.<sup>65</sup> There was indeed a continuing tendency for the authorities to support the secular against the sacred, and radicalism seemed to be the colonial order of the day in Church and State.<sup>66</sup>

Judged by the criterion of "usefulness", that great nineteenth Century nostrum, the Church of England could easily be criticised by the secularists and it was almost inevitable that the cost of chaplaincies should come to be justified by moral benefit. It was a short step from this argument to the position taken by John Stuart Mill and the Philosophic Radicals that what mattered was not the integrity of the National Church but the promotion of a spiritual culture involving man's moral and intellectual well-being.<sup>67</sup> It was argued that to be moral, one did not need to be religious, and therefore that people could be moral without being religious. "Morality" was tacked on to "Utility" as one of the magic words of the new age. Frederick Maitland

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<sup>65</sup>Hutchins, W., A Letter on the Schools Question (Hobart: W.G. Elliston, 1839) passim; c.f. Suttor, T.L., Op.Cit., pp. 244-247 for the growth of secularism and Yarwood, A.T., Samuel Marsden, (Melbourne: Melb. University Press, 1977) p. 45, for growth of laxity.

<sup>66</sup>Bent's News 27 January 1838; c.f. MacAlister, Chas., Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South (Goulburn: Chas. MacAlister Book Publication Committee, 1907) pp. 168, 169; Hobart Town Courier 10 July 1840; Australasiatic Review 14 June 1840; Taylor, Nancy M., (Ed.) The Journal of Ensign Best 1837-1843, (Wellington N.Z.: R.F. Owen 1966) pp. 19, 84, 87, 96, 97, 100, 101, 152, 171; Roe, M., Op.Cit., pp. 18, 20, 22, 141, 142.

<sup>67</sup>Brose, Olive J., Op.Cit., pp. 23-27.

Innes, editor of the Tasmanian, revelled in the optimism of the Golden Age.<sup>68</sup>

The Spirit of the Age not only encouraged the material and the useful; it also endorsed what Charles Harpur, the poet, called the individualizing process.<sup>69</sup> Such a process was encouraged by the Protestant sects and by some evangelicals in the Anglican Church, and led to the privatizing of a person's religion so that it was no longer a matter of social consequence; what a man decided about his own spiritual life was regarded as a private matter about which members of society could freely differ. Once the Christian religion was no longer seen as a vital part of the social fabric the circumstances were favourable to the establishment of a religion—substitute as Hutchins forecast.<sup>70</sup> Bishop Broughton saw the triumph of liberalism and secularism as promoting self-interest and emasculating truth.<sup>71</sup> Even the Church itself was coming under the influence of the utilitarian age. George Henry Law, Bishop of Bath and Wells, affirmed that the security and permanence of every civil establishment depended on its utility. Archbishop Whateley wanted the Established Church to be a useful institution, and Bishop Blomfield spoke of the Church's "holy usefulness".<sup>72</sup> Hutchins had grown up with a Burkian and, as he saw it, a Christian notion of society in which and to which every individual owed an obligation. For him the Church of England was a cementing influence in that society which would evolve slowly accord-

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<sup>68</sup>Roe, M., Op.Cit., pp.147, 148.

<sup>69</sup>Roe, M., Op.Cit., p.149.

<sup>70</sup>Hutchins, W., A Letter on the Schools Question, Op.Cit., pp.10, 11.

<sup>71</sup>Shaw, G.P., Op.Cit., p.79.

<sup>72</sup>Brose, Op.Cit., pp.35, 36; italics are mine.

ing to its own laws of growth. A radical, individualist, utilitarian attack on that cementing influence was fraught with danger; the authority of God's word would be replaced by hedonistic rationalizing. Those who had not been through the fearful days of the French Wars could not feel as Hutchins felt about the perils of radicalism, any more than a young man of the 1980's can understand fully the returned serviceman. It is virtually impossible to preserve values when there is disagreement about what such an operation entails.

One concomitant of the individualizing process so commended by Harpur was the growing importance of "money". Payment in goods and services kept a person tied to his situation; to enjoy freedom an individual required cash. It is not surprising therefore that money was an important factor for Franklin to consider when determining religious and educational policy.<sup>73</sup> The avowed aim of Australian settlers was to make money and the immediate, visible result of any reform in conduct had to be worldly success.<sup>74</sup> The crass materialism which activated Australian squatters as a class might be camouflaged by giving a mystical symbolism to the Bush, but the squatters were still found to be mercenary boors; rank and talent were nothing and the aristocracy was one of wealth.<sup>75</sup> A church that was not

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<sup>73</sup>c.f. Korobatz, Victor, "The Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land 1825-1856" in Tasmania Historical Research Association Papers, Vol. 21, 1974, pp. 14, 15; Barrett, John, Op.Cit., p. 170; Nadel, Op.Cit., p. 35.

<sup>74</sup>c.f. West, Op.Cit., p. 69; Brain, T.H., A History of New South Wales, quoted by Nadel, Op.Cit., p. 240; Haygarth, H.W. Recollections of Bush Life in Australia, quoted by Roe, Op.Cit., p. 203.

<sup>75</sup>Clarke, F.G., Op.Cit., pp. 136, 140.



endowed would become impoverished, and its ministers would lose the influence which they had enjoyed because by the supreme Australian standard they were failures. Celibate priests supported by outside wealth would retain some independence and prestige in their own community. Later, the Salvation Army, dignified by its uniform and noted for its pragmatism, would gain acceptance. The Church of England in Tasmania, though denigrated by some as middle class and "establishment" would in fact become the practically useless poor relation.<sup>76</sup>

At the other end of the ecclesiastical spectrum the Oxford Movement had its impact. Evangelicals were dismayed to find a hierarchy with Roman trimmings consolidating itself in the new land. As bishops abrogated to themselves the trappings of power, pressure for reform grew within the Church and flowed over into society.<sup>77</sup> Hutchins tried to steer a middle course as advocated by Charles Simeon, and if his Archdeaconry had become a Diocese he would not have stirred up the hostility of a large section of Anglican clergy, of the Government, and of other denominations such as that stirred up by Bishop Nixon.<sup>78</sup> With the premature death of Hutchins the nature and purpose of Church Establishment was never clarified and the benefit of endowment barely recognised.<sup>79</sup> Opponents of the Church in Van Diemen's Land, or indeed its supporters, did not see, as Robert Peel did, that Anglicans

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<sup>76</sup> c.f. Hart, P.R., "The Rev. Archibald Turnbull, Agitator" in T.H.R.A.P. Vol.12, 1964, 1965, p.23.

<sup>77</sup> Bollen, Op.Cit., p.14; Fry, H.P., Answer to the Rt. Rev. F.R. Nixon, (Hobart: Walsh, 1853) p.46; The Christian Record 16 Jan. 1901, pp.117, 118.

<sup>78</sup> West, Op.Cit., p.161; c.f. Hobart Town Courier, 21 August 1840.

<sup>79</sup> West, Op.Cit., p.157; Mereweather, J.D., Diary of a Working Clergyman, (London: Hatchard 1859) pp.42, 43.

could lose some of their civil privileges and still remain Established, embodying a "way of life" within which tensions could be resolved.<sup>80</sup>

Throughout the period under review the Presbyterians in Tasmania kept up the pressure for reform in the ecclesiastical arrangements which for some of them meant the destruction of Anglican supremacy. They had the naive view that whereas if children went to schools run by Anglicans they would grow up Anglicans, they would not grow up secular if they went to secular schools. Lillie and Thomson, a formidable pair, used all their skill to influence the Government.<sup>81</sup> One of the long term results of this pressure was the removal of Christian teaching in Tasmania from school to pulpit and the assumption that "education" could be undertaken by the schools while "religion" was left to the churches. For a while the size of the congregations and the work of Sunday Schools obscured the significance of the change, but after a time children were no longer taught to think in Christian categories so that a social life based on the local church became increasingly at odds with the secular thinking of

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<sup>80</sup> Brose, Op.Cit., p.16; c.f. Aislabie, W.J. to John Gregory, 12 Feb. 1838 in Murray's Review 20 Feb 1838. For views similar to Hutchins vide. Burton, W.W., The State of Religion and Education of New South Wales (London: Cross, 1840) pp.44, 50.

<sup>81</sup> West, Op.Cit., p.154; Thomson, James, Remarks on the Status of the Presbyterian Church in the British Colonies, (Hobart: H.Melville, 1855) pp.89, 90; Hobart Town Courier 7 February, 13 March, 20 March, 27 March, 3 April, 12 June, 26 June, 7 August, 14 August, 23 October 1840; A.A. Review 17 March, 7, 14 April, 1840; True Colonist 11 Sept. 1840; Hobart Town Advertiser 25 September 1840; Fitzpatrick, Op.Cit., p.195.



the people. The collective consciousness was dissolved into individual constituents and the desire to "get on" drove out the desire to be a "decent Christian".<sup>82</sup> In 1840 the running of a steamboat or the playing of cards on Sunday was a desecration of the Sabbath for the social habits still fitted reasonably well with the religious obligations.<sup>83</sup> The process of individualization encouraged the breaking of social habits; sabbath observance and church going went by default, grace before meals and family prayers were no longer the norm, and a rift appeared between the social life of the people and their religious life. Hutchins slowed down the process of cultural disintegration by his energetic building of parish churches, the provision of Sunday Schools and the foundation of Anglican day schools, but once his ideal of a National Church and a National School system related to it was shattered, the growth of sectarianism and secularization was inevitable.

There exists in Australia a religion of public life, which can be observed at an Anzac Day or Armistice Day ceremony, at a funeral, or at the start of the Parliamentary day, or occasionally at the laying of a foundation stone. To a large extent it is eclectic and synthetic but it draws heavily on the Christian denominations for its symbols and its ritual. This "Civil Religion" as Robert Bellah has called it<sup>84</sup> embraces common elements of religious orient-

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<sup>82</sup>c.f. Bollen, Op.Cit., p.43; Nadel, Op.Cit., p.242.

<sup>83</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 24 April 1840; Syme, J., Nine Years in Van Diemen's Land. (Dundee: Middleton, 1848) p.227.

<sup>84</sup>Bellah, Robert, Civil Religion in America, Article in Daedalus Winter, 1967, quoted by Price, Reverend Charles P., Religion and Education a speech to the Annual Conference of the National Association of Independent Schools, U.S.A., 4 March 1972. (Boston: N.A.I.S., 1972).

ation shared by the great majority of Australians and satisfied to some extent the community's need for religious experience. Its existence allows secularism to masquerade as a moral force, for it provides comforting occasions when the gospel of secularism can borrow vestments and appear respectable. The efforts of nineteenth century liberals to remove denominational differences led to a dilution of the Christian message and the promotion of key words like "progress", "comfort", "rights", and "standard of living"; sin, guilt, repentance, and faith were challenging concepts which did not survive the watering down process. It was forgotten that any universal religion like for example "humanism" could exist only because of the input of particular religions. The more removed the general civil religion became from its particular sources the more insipid and ineffective was its content; the weakening of those sources by government inaction further emaciated the "cultus" which undergirded Australian society. When specific religious programmes were barred from schools they were replaced by programmes dictated by the vague moralistic attitude of the community, for what happens in the schools is determined by the general attitude of the community at large. Without a strong and particular religious input, the general religion of society came vague, and vital Christian categories of thought were lost. The silent, continuous process of personal formation which goes on in every person as part of community education, lacking these categories, produced particular educational programmes in schools that did not contain religious concepts for which even the language gradually disappeared.

This irreligious educational input made it increasingly difficult for Australian society at large to respond to the message of what became a minority church. The consequences of this cycle are obvious and they have very little to do with the "truth" or "validity" of the concepts. What Hutchins feared and foretold, happened.<sup>85</sup>

Archdeacon William Hutchins was one of the last Church Leaders in Australia who believed that a National Religion and a National System of Education based on Christianity were possible. He foresaw what would happen if the primacy of the Established Church in Religion and Education was destroyed. By his labours and leadership he gave the Anglican Church in Tasmania a parochial system which has so far survived the ravages of secularism. His work in education is commemorated in the school which bears his name.

At the opening of the Hutchins School, the Reverend J.P.Gell alluded to the closeness of his friendship with Hutchins and committed to the masters of the new School the key of Hutchins's tomb, "to remind them of the early origin of their commission; to bid them work for eternity as well as fortune; and to imitate the steadfastness, the resolution, the cheerful industry, the genuine piety of the first Archdeacon of our Church".<sup>86</sup> The key has been lost; this work is an attempt to ensure that the memory at least is preserved.

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<sup>85</sup>Hutchins, W., A Letter on the Schools Question.  
Op.Cit., passim.

<sup>86</sup>Rait, B.W., Op.Cit., p.49. Note:- the site of William Hutchins's tomb in St.David's Park, Hobart, is marked by a tablet inscribed by the Tasmanian Government in 1970.

CHAPTER 1  
HUTCHINS'S BIRTH AND BACKGROUND

William Hutchins was born at Ansley in Warwickshire on 26th November, 1792, the seventh child of the Vicar of Ansley, who entered his birth date on the record of his baptism as he did with all his children.<sup>1</sup> William was baptised by his father on the 3rd May, 1793, into the Church of England.

The Reverend Joseph Hutchins became Vicar of this Warwickshire village in 1779.<sup>2</sup> He himself was the fourth child of a local family, Thomas and Mary Hutchins; his father gave his trade as husbandman and lived at Griff, a village about seven miles from Ansley, working on the estate of Sir Roger Newdigate, and dying there before the birth of his youngest daughter.<sup>3</sup> The family enjoyed Sir Roger's patronage it would seem, and an elder brother of Joseph, Thomas Hutchins, became the Newdigate agent from 1767 to 1791, and was the tenant of Griff Hill Farm,<sup>4</sup> at least for some of that period. This means that Joseph and his brothers and sisters grew up in the shadow of Arbury Hall, the seat since 1586 of the Newdigate-Newdegate family, an imposing residence with its own Chapel designed partly by Sir Christophe Wren.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ansley Baptism Register in Warwickshire County Records Office

<sup>2</sup> Gentlemans Magazine May 1779

<sup>3</sup> The Baptism Register of Chilvers Coton Parish Church indicates that the children were baptised as follows:-  
William 30 November, 1740; Thomas 18 September 1743;  
Mary 2 February 1746; Joseph 29 September 1748;  
Elizabeth 7 July 1751; Sarah 21 July 1754.

<sup>4</sup> Newdigate Papers. Warwickshire County Records Office D.R.401.

We can speculate a little about Joseph's life and the life of his family because Robert Evans, George Eliot's father, became the Newdigate agent very soon after Thomas Hutchins, in the early part of the 19th Century. Scenes from Clerical Life not only reflect Mary Anne Evans' own experiences but those of people she knew like the Reverend Bernard Gilpin Ebdell, Vicar of Chilvers Coton. In Mr. Gilfil's Love Story Cheverel Manor is a faithful copy of Arbury Hall, and the Reverend Maynard Gilfil is the sort of parson Joseph might have known in his Parish Church.

It would seem then that the Vicar of Chilvers Coton did not shine in the more spiritual functions of his office; however he performed his functions dutifully, with "brevity and despatch".<sup>6</sup> His sermons were short and well used. He travelled between the two churches that were his charge on horseback and sometimes forgot to take his spurs off before putting on his surplice, so that occasionally he experienced a mysterious tugging at his robes when he stepped into the reading desk. The Vicar "belonged to the course of nature" and the farmers would have regarded him as beyond criticism. When Sunday came, Joseph Hutchins and his parents, brothers and sisters would have dined early, about 12 o'clock, and walked to church for the service at 2 o'clock. Mother and children sat on a dark oak bench while father dozed in a stall. The squire and his household had pews in the chancel.

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<sup>5</sup>Haight, G.S. George Eliot, A Biography. Clarendon 1968, p.8. et passim.

<sup>6</sup>Eliot, George, Scenes of Clerical Life, Vol.1. (London, Blackwood 1859) pp.137, 138, 139, provide a graphic portrait.

Sermons gained from their familiarity rather than from their novelty and they were not highly doctrinal or polemical,<sup>7</sup> but wrongdoing was defined as lying, backbiting, anger, slothfulness and the like, while goodness was associated with honesty, truthfulness, charity, and industry. The English Church of the 18th Century emphasized the importance of good behaviour above sound belief, and the vast majority of citizens responded by being decent, kindly, hardworking and trustworthy, even though they might have been weak on doctrine. Bible reading and family prayers were habitual, and one can imagine the cumulative effect of a few collects from the Evening Service habitually read, ending with the simple prayer, "Lighten our Darkness".<sup>8</sup>

Joseph went up to Pembroke College, Cambridge as a sizar in 1769<sup>9</sup> where his quarterly tuition would have cost him about fifteen shillings, or a tenth of what a nobleman or fellow commoner would pay.<sup>10</sup> He had to live sparingly, wore a different gown from that worn by pensioners or commoners, and served his fellow students at table; as a farmer's son he would have found it less obnoxious than some to rake over the smelly sawdust that covered the floor in the Hall where the undergraduate students ate their monotonous food. When Joseph graduated in 1773 his Bachelor's degree had been well earned.

Following his ordination it did not take Joseph long to obtain a living through his Newdigate connections. The manor of Ansley belonged to John Newdigate Ludford Esquire,

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<sup>7</sup>Eliot, George, Op.Cit. pp.144, 145

<sup>8</sup>Ibid p.178.c.f.Young, G.M. Victorian England (London.O.U.P. 1936)p.14.

<sup>9</sup>Venn, J.L. Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Part II Vol.III, p.502

<sup>10</sup>Winstanley, A.C., Unreformed Cambridge (Cambridge C.U.P. 1935) p.271, et passim.



a descendant from the original purchaser of the estate in 1613.<sup>11</sup> The parish was an ancient one, for Domesday Book records that the Countess Godeva held two hides in Ardreshille (which is Hartsville) and Hanslei (Ansley). There was then land for seven ploughs and six acres of meadow.<sup>12</sup> According to village tradition the ancient village of Ansley was virtually destroyed by the Black Death and a new village was built some distance from the ancient Saxon church. The population in 1832 according to the Articles of Enquiry submitted to the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission Office was 773.<sup>13</sup> According to West in 1821 the population was 720 in 113 houses. There was a glebe and a glebe house or vicarage and an income of about £300.<sup>14</sup> Such an income provided a comfortable living for a man of simple tastes and enabled Joseph to rank with the gentry in economic status. He might not aspire to the gothic heights of Arbury Hall but Ansley Hall was occupied by the Ludfords who were merchants of fluctuating fortunes and not very wealthy.<sup>15</sup> As a vicar he had considerable social and political influence which gave him a standing in the country not enjoyed by Thomas, his father.<sup>16</sup> It would not be unreason-

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<sup>11</sup>West, Wm. History, Topography and Directory of Warwickshire (Birmingham. R.Wrightson, 1830) Entry under 'Ansley'.

<sup>12</sup>Victoria Counties Histories Vol.1, p.309.

<sup>13</sup>Ecclesiastical Commissioners Archives. Articles of Enquiry for the Benefice of Ansley. Eccles. Revenues Commission Office, London.

<sup>14</sup>c.f. Vestry minutes among miscellaneous Ansley papers in Warwickshire County Record Office.D.R.532.

<sup>15</sup>Letters of Thomas Ludford to his brother, 18th Century. Birmingham Records Office.

<sup>16</sup>Brown, C.K.Francis. History of the English Clergy 1800-1900, (London, Faith Press 1953).



able to say that the Hutchins family in one generation by their own efforts had gone "up in the world".

A year or two after coming to Ansley Joseph married Susannah and their first child was born towards the end of 1784, a daughter, Sophia. The next two years saw two more daughters, Catherine and Sarah, and then in 1788 the first son was born, Arthur, followed in quick succession by Henry and Lucy.<sup>17</sup> In 1791 Sophia died, so when William was born in 1792 he came into a family of two sisters and two brothers. When he was two years old, he gained a third brother, Charles; the youngest of the family, Edward, was born when William was eight. The Hutchins family lived in a rambling vicarage, with stables and servants' quarters, about a hundred yards from the church, with a large garden and meadows and woodland nearby. Church and vicarage survive today and it is not difficult to imagine the rural environment in which William grew up.

The day before William was born, Joseph took Sunday services in the beautiful church with a fine Norman arch separating the chancel from the nave. For fifty five years he was a dutiful, regular, parish priest fulfilling his pastoral obligations as a Christian gentleman should. Even in what George Eliot thought of as the "high-and-dry" church there were lofty conceptions of the life and work of the Parish Priest. The reader of the Gentleman's Magazine is constantly coming across instances of active and loyal clergymen, and early in the 19th Century there was published The Duties of the Clerical Profession<sup>18</sup> a book of pastoral theology

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<sup>17</sup>Ansley Registers in Warwickshire County Record Office D.R.298/532

<sup>18</sup>Brown, C.K.Francis Op.Cit.p.11.

giving advice on all aspects of parish work - preaching, visiting, teaching, the giving of religious counsel and the priest's spiritual life. The fact that three of Joseph Hutchins's sons became parsons of some distinction reflects credit on their parents; it is also a reminder that the parsonage of the 18th and early 19th Century was often a positive influence, especially in rural communities. The people of Ansley regarded their Vicar in this light as placing his tomb in the chancel indicates, and they also had the same high regard for his wife. So it seems safe to assume that William was born into a happy home where the Christian life was demonstrated by love and duty in action as well as by precept.

Kitson Clark has reminded us that for those people bringing up a family at the end of the 18th Century,<sup>19</sup> society depended for its ordered existence on the maintenance of a state of affairs in which people did their duty in the situation where God had placed them. Critics have fastened on the inequalities which such a society tolerated. What has often been forgotten is the concept of duty which led men and women to undertake public service and works of charity with a devotion rarely found in a more egalitarian world. Dean Church wrote<sup>20</sup> of the parson as one who filled a place in the country life of England. He was often "the patriarch of his parish, its ruler, its doctor, its lawyer, its magistrate, as well as its teacher." It is easy to stress the pluralism, the

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<sup>19</sup>Clark, Kitson. Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885. (London, Methuen 1973) p.6

<sup>20</sup>Church, R.W. The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years 1835-45, (London: MacMillan and Co., 1891) New Ed. 1966. p.3.

absenteeism, the worldliness and the extreme conservatism which led Thomas Arnold to think that the Church of England could not survive, and it is a picture of the Church which that doyen of social historians, G.M.Trevelyan, has popularly presented.<sup>21</sup> Indeed no-one could deny that there were glaring abuses and much need of reform. However, there is another story to be told, and the evidence seems to be that William was fortunate in his parents, in his family, and in his experience of church life.

In the year of William's birth, newspapers from Nuneaton or Coventry brought the same news into the Vicarage that James Woodforde, the 18th Century clerical diarist, received in Norfolk. There was talk about mobs rising in many parts of the Kingdom, and there were said to be clubs about the country and city who called themselves "Resolution Men alias Revolution Men".<sup>22</sup> The following year the King of France was beheaded "inhumanly and unjustly". In April 1793 "France declared war against us". In October 1795, the King George III, was attacked by a mob of "the most violent and lowest Democrats". There had in this period been riots in both Birmingham and Warwick.<sup>23</sup> In 1794 Habeas Corpus was suspended, there was a food crisis and more rioting,<sup>24</sup> and England entered into a double decade of war with all its strange consequences.

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<sup>21</sup>Trevelyan, G.M. Illustrated English Social History, Vol.4. (London, Longmans Green 1942) pp.45f.

<sup>22</sup>Woodforde, James. Diary of a Country Parson 1758-1802, Ed.J.Beresford (London O.U.P.1935) Entries for 28 November 1792; 18, 26 January, 1793; 19 April, 1793; 26 October, 1795.

<sup>23</sup>Ward, W.R. Religion and Society in England 1790-1850, (London, Batsford 1972) pp.23, 25.

<sup>24</sup>Ward, W.R. Religion and Society in England 1790-1850, (London, Batsford 1972) p. 26.

Little William grew up no doubt in a sheltered home, but he must have been aware of events if his father was anything like James Woodforde in his knowledge of the news, and was prepared to talk to his children. When he was four there were "serious apprehensions" that the French would invade England in the autumn.<sup>25</sup> The country was beginning to feel the burden of extra taxes made necessary by the war and a few blamed Pitt for not negotiating peace.<sup>26</sup> In the early part of 1797 the liberals spoke of a false alarm and made a petition for peace.<sup>27</sup> But the French rejected every proposition and refused to make peace,<sup>28</sup> and the next two years saw increased danger from the French threat, the Irish Revolt and the Naval Mutinies.<sup>29</sup>

By April of 1798, when William was nearly six, even the liberal press was beginning to take seriously the threat from across the Channel.<sup>30</sup> The followers of Burke had been proved right; the voice of dissent typified in Fox and Paine had been proved subversive. On Friday the 20th April, King George III sent a message to the House of Commons stating that the preparations for the embarkation of troops from the ports of France, Flanders and Holland were proceeding apace.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore the enemy was being encouraged by "the correspondence and communication of traitorous and disaffected persons and societies of these kingdoms". Subjects are called

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<sup>25</sup>Woodforde, Diary, Op.Cit. 10 September 1796

<sup>26</sup>Morning Chronicle 12 August, 27 August, 3 October 1796.

<sup>27</sup>Morning Chronicle 6 March, 11 March, 1797.

<sup>28</sup>Woodforde Diary, Op.Cit. 3 December 1797, 31 December 1796.

<sup>29</sup>Ward, W.R. Op.Cit. p.27

<sup>30</sup>Morning Chronicle, 21 April 1798

<sup>31</sup>Morning Chronicle, 21 April 1798.

upon to play their part in the National Defence, and the House of Commons was asked to take action against the dissidents. The Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended and on this occasion the Morning Chronicle gave its grudging support speaking of treason as an atrocious crime. The paper reported the arrest of sixteen members of a Corresponding Society who had been meeting by night in an old house off the Strand. One of the papers seized was The Torch; or a light to enlighten the Nations of Europe in their way towards peace and happiness. One can imagine the reaction of the Hutchins household to this blasphemous and seditious pamphlet.

The following month there were more arrests for sedition,<sup>32</sup> and the clergy had become so involved with the military preparations connected with the defence of the realm that the Bishop of London had to postpone his Diocesan Visitation.<sup>33</sup> Shortly before this the two Archbishops and eleven bishops had found it necessary to meet and resolve that it would not conduce in any considerable degree to the defence and safety of the kingdom and would interfere with the proper duties of the profession, if the Clergy were to accept Commissions in the army, be enrolled in any military corps or be trained in the use of arms.<sup>34</sup> They agreed however, that in the case of actual invasion or dangerous insurrection it would be the duty of every clergyman to give his assistance in repelling both.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Morning Chronicle 5 May 1798

<sup>33</sup>Morning Chronicle 10 May 1798

<sup>34</sup>Morning Chronicle 11 May 1798

<sup>35</sup>Morning Chronicle 11 May 1798

The Morning Chronicle made the somewhat acid comment that the episcopal decision would deprive the service of "many very expert marksmen".

The Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter to his clergy reminded them that "in the din of arms" their main task was to maintain internal harmony and subordination by persuasion, exhortation and example. No doubt the Vicar of Ansley loyally played his part, while the country at large felt an excitement that diminished its fear. At Sadlers Wells Neptune told the Gallic Legions,

"Their attempts to invade  
The Region where Liberty dwells  
Is proof past mistake, that from us they would take  
The Freedom they have not themselves"

The next day the Morning Chronicle spoke of the welcome the French would get from the "youthful warriors of England"<sup>36</sup> and recorded without comment that the name of the Radical, Charles James Fox, had been removed from the Privy Council. In July and August there was bad news from Ireland<sup>37</sup> though this was offset by the stirring accounts of military reviews.<sup>38</sup> The Volunteer Corps grew in number and each had its Chaplain who could encourage them in the Parish Church with a sermon on a text like 'Be strong, and acquit yourselves like men'.<sup>39</sup> England saw men in uniform and began to respect them and their uniform in a new way.<sup>40</sup> In Ansley not only the Vicar but also his flock were for King and Country.<sup>41</sup>

These were heady days for young William and the excitement of the war was not diminished by any economic hardship.

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<sup>36</sup>Morning Chronicle 12 May 1798

<sup>37</sup>Morning Chronicle 2 July 1798, 3 July 1798, 4 Aug. 1798.

<sup>38</sup>Morning Chronicle 4 August 1798

<sup>39</sup>Morning Chronicle 20 August 1798

<sup>40</sup>Morning Chronicle 17 August 1798

<sup>41</sup>c.f. Trevelyan, G.M. Illustrated English Social History, Op.Cit.p.6.



The prosperity on the land resulting from high food prices offset the cost of enclosure which took place in Ansley about 1803.<sup>42</sup> The Vicarage was probably as well off as Woodforde's Vicarage at Weston where there were two maids, a footman, a house boy and a farm hand.<sup>43</sup> The family would have eaten well in their small dining room, and drunk their beer and mead, though it might have been difficult and expensive to obtain tea and spirits. The villagers not engaged in farming would have found the war not unkind to their cottage industry of ribbon making.<sup>44</sup>

On a Sunday, William would observe his father cross over to the Church, his knee breeches and stockings hidden under a black cassock and gown, his white cravat newly laundered.<sup>45</sup> The children would follow with Susannah carrying her indispensable, or bag. William would have heard hundreds of sermons as he grew up and would have become very familiar with the liturgy of the Church of England. He learned a way of life that he came to treasure, and it was such a life that he wanted to see in Van Diemen's Land when he became Archdeacon.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Vestry Minute in Ansley papers in Warwickshire County Records Office, D.R.532; cf. Pauline Gregg A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1950 (London, George G. Harrap 1950) for the effect of enclosures pp.28f.

<sup>43</sup>Quennell, M. and C.H.B. A history of Everyday Things in England 1733-1851 (London, Batsford 1933) pp.24, 28, 29

<sup>44</sup>This comes from the tradition of the village learned in conversation with the villagers.

<sup>45</sup>Quennell Op.Cit. p.192f. Burke, Thomas, The English Townsman (London, Batsford, 1946) p.65. Brown, C.K. Francis, Op.Cit. pp.214, 215.

<sup>46</sup>Hutchins, Wm. A Letter on the School Question 1839. pp.13, 14.



It was a way of life he wanted to preserve against all the dissidents and the radicals as being consonant with the will of God and best for the happiness of man.<sup>47</sup>

As William grew older he might well have listened to his father reminiscing not only about the farming life at Griff, but about national events much as William Wraxall reminisced with his two sons.<sup>48</sup> If so, William's mind would have been taken back to the year when his father first went to Ansley, a year when a deeper political gloom spread over England more than at any other time for this was a year of ignominious defeat. In 1780 the Gordon riots brought to London outrageous scenes that were worse than events which had recently taken place in France and produced results worse than the plague and fire of 1665 and 1666, including casualties numbering seven hundred. It was King George III who "preserved London in June 1780 from suffering the utmost extremities of violence and pillage". And what a King ! He was "religiously tenacious of his engagements or promises" and brave, for when surrounded by the mob in November 1795 he showed "calmness and self possession".<sup>49</sup>

These heady days William did not forget. When he was campaigning in Van Diemen's Land for the Church of England to have a major role in the education of the young, he wrote: <sup>50</sup>

It is not very long since scientific infidels set up human reason as their deity, and degraded themselves far below the irrational animals around them, by

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<sup>47</sup>Hutchins, Wm. Ibid. esp. p. 7.

<sup>48</sup>Wraxall, N.W., Historical Memoirs of My Own Time (first published 1815. Ed. 1904) p. 187 et passim.

<sup>49</sup>Wraxall, Op. Cit. p. 241.

<sup>50</sup>Hutchins, Wm. A Letter on the School Question, p. 7.

selecting a common strumpet as the representative of that deity; not very long since the sun shone upon such a scene got up by these men versed in the liberal arts, but destitute of Christian principle; and not very long since we beheld an infuriated mob, after rending the air with their shouts in honour of this obscene and blasphemous exhibition, go forth to assist their leaders in cutting the throats of their fellow men, till the land in which they dwelt was almost one great charnel-house thronged with the mangled remains of the dead and the torn carcasses of the dying. Lust, and rapine, and murder, were beheld stalking through the length and breadth of the land, and leaving behind them a scene at which humanity shuddered, turning her eyes away in sorrow.

When William was twelve his sister Lucy died of tuberculosis; three years later another sister, Catherine, died; and in 1811 his young brother Charles died aged sixteen. Death of course was a frequent visitor in many homes and the Vicarage was no exception.<sup>51</sup> In 1804 his older brother, Henry, went up to Trinity Hall as a sizar, and his own education must have been a concern of his father by this time.

It would be surprising if by the age of twelve, Hutchins did not accept automatically that Church and State were inseparable ideas, with the Crown and the Establishment being essential foundations of the Constitution.<sup>52</sup> He would see in the parochial ministry the right way of counteracting the violence and dissension which England had experienced in his early years.<sup>53</sup>

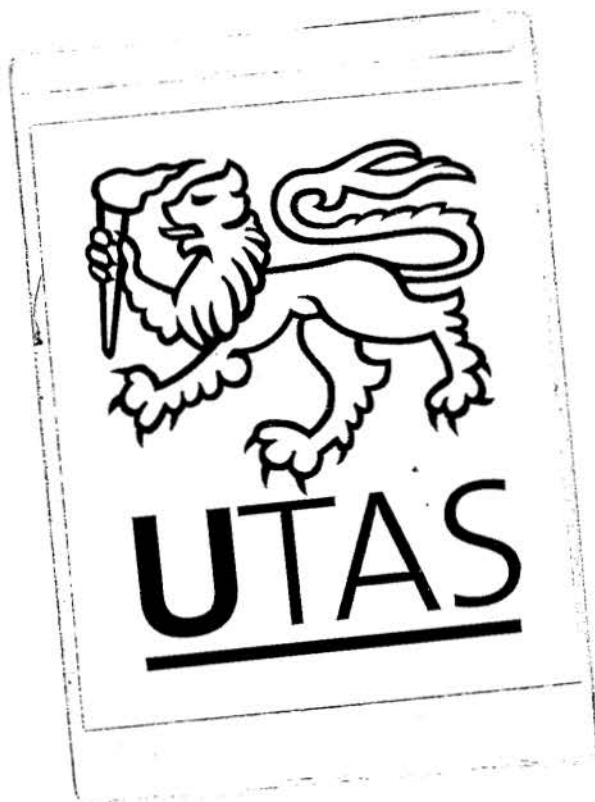
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<sup>51</sup>vide. Plaque on the North Wall of Ansley Church.

<sup>52</sup>Carpenter, S.C., Church and People 1789-1889 (London, S.P.C.K., 1933), p.8, quoting Edmund Burke.

<sup>53</sup>c.f. Hutchins, Wm., A Letter on the School Question Op.Cit. 1839, p.5.

He seems to have realised that once the Christian society was allowed to disintegrate through lack of leadership in both Church and State, there would be an irresistible slide towards an unchristian secularism.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE INFLUENCE OF CAMBRIDGE

Joseph wanted his sons to go to Cambridge if this were possible, but a classical and mathematical education was a pre-requisite and William was sent to Atherstone Grammar School.<sup>1</sup> This school was conducted in the Church itself as at Melbourne, Girton, Willingham or Long Melford,<sup>2</sup> and was an ancient foundation dating back to the 22nd December, 1573.<sup>3</sup> Amias Hill and Sir William Devereux purchased the Chancel of the old Priory Church which had been left vacant after the dissolution of the Friary of St. Augustine, which itself replaced the 12th Century Abbey of Bec. The school had been liberally endowed over the years. The Church was partitioned in 1749 and the building still possesses the two chimneys that were installed. A large number of local children attended the "English" school where very basic instruction was given but at the end of the 18th Century only five students attended the "Latin" School. The Charity Commissioners were concerned about the confused use of the many charities, and they reported on the local disquiet which arose from the emphasis on classical education.

James Charters<sup>4</sup> was headmaster of Atherstone from 1787 to 1817 and no doubt was responsible for some of the disquiet.

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<sup>1</sup>Venn, J.L., Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Op.Cit. Part II Vol.II p.502.

<sup>2</sup>Clark, Kitson, Op.Cit. p.99.

<sup>3</sup>The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of the County of Warwick. Vol.II (London. Dawson 1965). pp. 356, 357.

<sup>4</sup>Venn, J.L. Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Op.Cit. Part II Vol.II p.17 Mancetter Registers and Papers. County Records Office, Warwickshire. D.R. 130,297,702.

He was an old boy of Eton who won a Scholarship to King's College in Cambridge and became a Fellow there from 1776 to 1783. He was also an under master at Rugby and held in turn a number of livings. William was probably fortunate to have received a solid grounding in the classics,<sup>5</sup> even if his teacher was capable of meting out "severe chastisement".<sup>6</sup> No records of the school at this time exist so it is difficult to know what happened to William when he finished school. It is possible that he remained at the school to assist the Reverend James Charters. It is known that the older brother Henry had a home in Mancetter;<sup>7</sup> perhaps William lived there for a while.

The chancel where William did his schooling was an elegant example of mediaeval architecture,<sup>8</sup> a large open area with stalls round the walls and an immensely high ceiling: it must have been very hard to heat on wintry days. No doubt his long association with the best in architecture at home, school, university and parish life helped him to design worthy churches during his five years in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>9</sup>

It is possible that William's family had some general connection with Mancetter which was the parish in which Atherstone Grammar School stood. West<sup>10</sup> in 1830 lists a

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<sup>5</sup>Hutchins, Wm. A Letter on the School Question, p.4.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Hutchins, Henry to Sir George Grey, 11 March 1836, P.R.O. 280/2/16

<sup>8</sup>v.d. Drawing in the Aylesford Collection.

<sup>9</sup>Circular on Trinity Church, Hobart HA N5 18/2 has the comment "Mr. Archdeacon Hutchins selected the design, which is admitted to be a very superior specimen of Ecclesiastical architecture".

<sup>10</sup>West, Wm. History, Topography and Directory of Warwickshire. (Birmingham. R.Wrightson 1830).

Reverend Arthur Hutchins at Mancetter; he was not an incumbent but might have been a curate or a teacher. This man could have been William's eldest brother, or at least some relative, who therefore could have given the boy another pied-à-terre near his school.

Atherstone was a relatively busy market town on the main road North; the Roman Watling Street passes through it. The river Anker flows nearby, and at this time the Coventry Canal was built passing through the town and joining the Trent to the Mersey.<sup>11</sup> It was the place where Richard III held council before the Battle of Bosworth. The population in 1822 was 3427 and it might have been a little more when William was there.<sup>12</sup> The town was famous for the manufacture of common hats and soldiers' caps and would have prospered through the war.<sup>13</sup> Near Atherstone was Merivale Hall the seat of the Dugdales who were the impropriators of the living of Ansley.

Towards the end of William's time at school the Midland counties were sliding into loom-breaking and Luddism,<sup>14</sup> and the growing discontent together with the continuing war underlined the pacifying and harmonising role of the Church. In 1811 a society was formed called the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales."<sup>15</sup> Th s was much

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Pigot, J. Directory of Warwickshire 1822. (Manchester: J. Pigot, 1822).

<sup>13</sup> Pigot, J. Op.Cit.

<sup>14</sup> Ward, W.R. Religion and Society in England 1790-1850 (London, Batsford 1972)p.56.

<sup>15</sup> Moorman, J.R.H. A History of the Church in England (London, A.C.Black, 1953)p.323. c.f. also Carpenter, S.C., Church and People (London, S.P.C.K. 1933)p.68.



publicised in the Coventry Mercury<sup>16</sup> and there was debate on the different systems of Bell and the National Society as against Lancaster and the British and Foreign Schools System. The Church was beginning to see that mere "subordination"<sup>17</sup> would not produce harmony and unity and an appreciation of English Christian culture, nor would it equip the 'lower classes' to meet the industrial age. Some education was necessary, would soon be demanded and ought to be provided in the context of the Church.

In 1807 the Parliament had rejected Samuel Whitbread's proposal that schools should be supported from the rates, because it was felt by many that education should be in the hands of the clergy. Following the foundation of the National Society considerable progress was made in the provision of schools. The society was responsible for over 40,000 scholars by 1813 and ten times that number by 1831. By 1847, nearly a million children were receiving daily instruction in 17,015 schools. But the influence of Lancaster meant that a rival system of "non sectarian" teaching was developing at the same time and it was a short step from the "liberal and extended views of modern education' based on 'general Christian principles" to a more secular system.<sup>18</sup> For this reason Archdeacon Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury and Archdeacon of Derby impressed upon his clergy the prime importance of education. In his Charge of 1825 he asserted that the current age was experimental, impatient of moral and religious restraint and discipline,

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<sup>16</sup>Coventry Mercury, June 1811.

<sup>17</sup>c.f. Archbishop's letter in the Morning Chronicle 11 May 1798.

<sup>18</sup>c.f. Coventry Mercury January 1810; Moorman, J.R.H. A History of the Church of England (London, Black 1953) pp.324-329; Carpenter, S.C. Church and People 1789-1889 (London. S.P.C.K. 1933) pp.68-71.



and a danger to the rising generation. He claimed that "innovators and system framers" were anxious to divert the course of education from its regular channel in which home and church were the instructors, in order that they might pursue "their own purposes". He emphasized the importance of keeping the education of the nation in the control of a national church.<sup>19</sup>

In October 1813 William went up to Pembroke, his father's old College at Cambridge. In the admissions register of the College there is entered by his name 'admissus est ad mensam secundam' which means that he was admitted as a "pensioner" paying full fees.<sup>20</sup> Since his father and brother had come to Cambridge as sizars, who had to work to offset part of their fees, it may be assumed that the family fortunes had improved a little perhaps because of the rural prosperity arising from the war, perhaps also because there were now only two children to maintain. Pembroke was a small college dating from 1347 whose chapel suffered some vandalism during the Civil War<sup>21</sup> but which otherwise pursued the smooth tenor of its way undisturbed. The Bishop of Ely, imprisoned in the Tower for eighteen years by the Roundheads, built Pembroke a new Chapel when the Restoration freed him, and he gave his nephew the task of designing it. It was Christopher Wren's earliest work and a pleasing addition to the College. Pembroke was a sober, staid community of about fifty, "tory in politics, gentle in the arts, firm in scholarship and a quiet champion of the

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<sup>19</sup>Austin, M.R. The Church in Derbyshire in 1823-4. Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 1974, pp.15, 16.

<sup>20</sup>Pembroke College Admissions Register. vd. also explanatory letter from the College Archivist, 6 July, 1977. Hutchins School Archives.

<sup>21</sup>Steegman, John, Cambridge. (Cambridge Batsford, 1940) pp.28, 52.

One of his contemporaries at Pembroke was William Grant Broughton who as the first Bishop of Australia was to nominate William for the new Archdeaconry of Van Diemen's Land,<sup>23</sup> and maintained with William a life long friendship.<sup>24</sup> Another was Henry Blunt, who was ninth wrangler in 1817, the year before Hutchins had that distinction.<sup>25</sup> Blunt was an evangelical who after his ordination ministered in Chelsea and is said to have gathered round him the most influential congregation in London or its neighbourhood. Noblemen, Peers, Commoners, Tradesmen, and the poor alike hung upon his fascinating discourses.<sup>26</sup> Another contemporary was Henry Sim of Islington, also an evangelical, who after ordination went to Parwich in Derbyshire where their paths would again have crossed.<sup>27</sup> William Hutchins was not only the son of the Vicarage, but at School and University he was very much part

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<sup>22</sup>Shaw, G.P. William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales. Thesis for Ph.D. at A.N.U. 1970 refers to Aubrey Attwater, Pembroke College Cambridge, A Short History. (C.U.P. 1936) c.f. also The Derby Mercury, 2 December, 1829.

<sup>23</sup>Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Op.Cit. Part II, Vol. III p. 502. Shaw, G.P. Op.Cit. passim. Anon, Missionary Heroes, Penny Tract of S.P.C.K., p. 1. Whittington, F.Y., William Grant Broughton, 1936, p. 20. Broughton to The Bishop of London, 23 June 1841, S.P.G., Papers on microfilm, N.L.

<sup>24</sup>Broughton to The Bishop of London, 23 June 1841. S.P.G., Papers on microfilm, N.L.

<sup>25</sup>Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Op.Cit., Part II, Vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>26</sup>Reverend Francis Close. Funeral sermon quoted by J.H. Overton, English Church in the 19th Century (London. Longmans Green, 1894) p. 84.

<sup>27</sup>c.f. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Part II, Vol. VII, p. Pembroke College Register. Note: George Clarke, Rector of Thornton in Yorkshire was three years with Hutchins at Pembroke. Thomas More, an exact contemporary, became Rector of Coveley and Shelve; he knew Archdeacon Butler as a Headmaster and might have given Hutchins some information about him. Another contemporary, Thomas Rivett, was the son of the Rector of Lymington.

of the Church. His education was undertaken by clergy and he worked among young men who themselves were part of the same Church. So far as he was concerned, the Church of England, despite all its faults, was active and effective at a time when radical, non-church views were being widely canvassed.

One contemporary at Cambridge was Harvey James Sperling who went up in 1813 and graduated in 1818; they must have attended the same Norrisean lectures. Here was a young man who became Rector of Papworth St. Agnes to be remembered by his curate as devout, beneficent, and visionary; "a guileless saint".<sup>28</sup> Doubtless the University like the Church had many "wasters" but many students at Cambridge were humble, obscure and hard working<sup>29</sup> and many of these became conscientious clergymen in situations that were not always easy. Moreover, at this time there was a religious climate in Cambridge that led many young men not only to the service of God in their own country but to service overseas.<sup>30</sup> Beside evangelical companions William had two brothers at Cambridge during these years. Henry was a fellow of Trinity Hall, and Edward came up from Rugby as a Scholar.<sup>31</sup> Their lives provided further evidence of the Church's powerful and beneficial influence.

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<sup>28</sup>Brown, C.K. Francis, A History of the English Clergy, Op.Cit., p.152, 153, quotes Augustus Jessopp, Arcady, for Better for Worse, 6th Eds. pp.3, 4, 98.

<sup>29</sup>Steegman, John, Cambridge, Op.Cit., p.34.

<sup>30</sup>Charles Simeon of King's College was perpetual curate of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, from 1782 to 1836. Isaac Milner (1750-1820) was President of Queen's. William Farish of Magdalene, Professor of Chemistry, was Vicar of St. Giles, Cambridge. All three were influential Evangelicals.

<sup>31</sup>Venn. Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Op.Cit. Vol. II, Part III, p.501.

In order to graduate William had to keep ten terms at least, and then for his bachelor's degree present himself in the "Schools" for a disputation.<sup>32</sup> His tutor would have already classified him as a non-reading, reading, or hard reading type. The nature of the 'wrangle' is not unimportant because it stood him in good stead later when he had to argue a case. The graduand had to defend two mathematical and one philosophical proposition against counter arguments and show a facility in the writing of essays. To gain a Master's degree he had to attend further lectures including Greek, and theoretically he had to pass another examination. He might then be asked to do some teaching. In 1818 William graduated ninth in the University and between that time and 1824 almost certainly did some teaching at the University, probably until Edward went down to become his father's curate at Ansley.<sup>33</sup> That William did some teaching is suggested by the fact that his obituaries made him a Fellow of Pembroke which he never was.<sup>34</sup> He might have expected such a distinction since his brother Henry had been so honoured at Trinity Hall being only 13th wrangler. Fellowships were never cut and dried and the University was still well aware of the Francis Wrangham case not many years before.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>c.f. Winstanley, A.C. Unreformed Cambridge (Cambridge, C.U.P. 1935) p.197f; Cambridge University Calendar 1802.

<sup>33</sup>The Primary Visitation of Henry Lichfield to the Deanery of Arden in the Parish Church of Coleshill 20th August, 1824, finds Joseph Hutchins Vicar of Ansley with Edward Hutchins his Curate at £50 p.a., c.f. Visitation Book, Diocese of Lichfield, Lichfield Records Office.

<sup>34</sup>His name does not appear in the Pembroke register of fellows nor is there any note beside his name in the admissions register which was done if a member of the College gained a fellowship. This is an error that has been widely copied.

<sup>35</sup>Sadleir, Michael. Things Past (London, Constable, 1944) p.202f. Wrangham had been third wrangler, a Smith's Prizeman, winner of the Chancellor's medal, and had been virtually promised the next vacant fellowship at Trinity Hall. However he was overlooked for a man who technically was not eligible. Disappointed, Wrangham threw his energy and skill into parish work in his native Yorkshire and became an Archdeacon, leaving behind in Cambridge a legendary epigram against Dr. Joseph Jowett, the Master who had thwarted him.

One's picture of Hutchins's life at Cambridge depends upon the premise that he was much influenced by the current Evangelical movement, and there is cumulative evidence that he was. First he attended Holy Trinity Church, and it was in that Church in 1821 that the public notice of his ordination was read on Sunday the 20th May. The certificate was signed by James Scholefield, Simeon's curate, and the two church wardens, William Coe and Thomas Comber.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, his first curacy was in the evangelical parish of Huddersfield, Henry Venn's old parish, under James Clarke Franks<sup>37</sup> a distinguished, prize winning, evangelical from Trinity College who won the Hulsean Essay Prize with a work on "Evidence that St. Peter never was at Rome".<sup>38</sup> Franks was Chaplain at Trinity and he provides the link between William Hutchins and Harvey James Sperling, the "guileless saint". Thirdly, Broughton thought that Hutchins's evangelicalism would commend him to Governor Arthur.<sup>39</sup> Fourthly, Dr. William Henry Browne, who claimed a special friendship with Hutchins,<sup>40</sup> was an evangelical from Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>41</sup> Finally, he married Rachael Owen who came from

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<sup>36</sup> Ordination Papers 22, in Diocesan Records held in Norfolk Records Office. Note:- In the Library of Christ College Hobart is a Volume of Calvin's Commentary which once belonged to Hutchins. By the names above his it would appear he obtained the book from Sim who, being from Islington, could have obtained it from Wilson, the Vicar of Islington whose name is the first on the flyleaf. The fact that these men were evangelicals is indicative if not conclusive.

<sup>37</sup> Original Nomination Document (Inst.A.B.19, pp.114,115) in the Records of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York.

<sup>38</sup> Venn. Op.Cit., Part II, Vol.III, p.567.

<sup>39</sup> Shaw, G.P. Op.Cit. p.350 refers to Broughton's letter to Sir George Grey, 4 February 1836. C.O./201/257 and Broughton to Arthur, 13 June 1836, A.P.Vol.12, M.L.

<sup>40</sup> Cornwall Chronicle 19 June, 1841.

<sup>41</sup> Barratt, W.R., Article on "Browne, W." in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.I, p.168.



an evangelical household.<sup>42</sup>

Hutchins must be seen therefore as an earnest student, steadily conscious of his duty and of his calling. At Pembroke he would rise between six and seven,<sup>43</sup> attend chapel between half past seven and eight, and have breakfast in his rooms. From nine to ten he would spend an hour with his tutor, Master Wood,<sup>44</sup> and between ten and twelve he might attend a lecture and do some private study. It was the custom to dress for dinner and some time would be devoted to this activity before dinner at one o'clock. The afternoon was given to walking, visiting, and reading. Evening chapel was from half past five to six and this would be followed by more study. Supper would be taken in rooms,<sup>45</sup> or it could be had in hall. Usually the "bedmaker" would bring a bill of fare and the student would select food to be taken from the College Kitchen to the room of a friend who acted as host supplying cheese, bread and beer. Occasionally a group might visit a coffee house. Exercise was obtained by boating or fishing or riding - in the days before organised games came up from the Arnoldian Schools. Up to 1939 life in Cambridge was much the same.

The six students who shared a staircase enjoyed a special fellowship, and Hutchins's sense of humour would have led him into the customary larks;<sup>46</sup> though he would not have approved of the prank that led Broughton to fall down his stair-

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<sup>42</sup>Rachael's sister Harriet married Philip Palmer a man of strongly evangelical views. Both girls were the daughters of a Welsh parson. c.f. Hart, P.R. Article on Palmer in A.D.B.

<sup>43</sup>Winstanley, A.C. Unreformed Cambridge C.U.P. 1935, p.225.

<sup>44</sup>c.f. The Admissions Register, Pembroke College, Cambridge.

<sup>45</sup>Winstanley, A.C. Op.Cit. p.205f.

<sup>46</sup>Tasmanian and A.A.Review, 3 November 1837 takes exception to his 'flippancy'.

case making the Bishop-to-be lame for life and causing the rustication of the prankster.<sup>47</sup> Just before Hutchins came up the Vice Chancellor had reproved some students for such follies, deploring the lack of "humour and genius" in their larks.<sup>48</sup> Isaac Milner knew what he was talking about for he had a special Yorkshire humour of his own.<sup>49</sup> Milner was a great influence in the University and his controversy with Dr. Herbert Marsh over the Bible Society with its supposed danger to the Church of England was long and famous;<sup>50</sup> it ended in Marsh conceding defeat.<sup>51</sup> In Hutchins's time Marsh gave the Lady Margaret Lectures on the authenticity, credibility and authority of the Bible, and on its interpretation.<sup>52</sup>

Another lecturer whom Hutchins certainly heard was the Norrisian Professor, Dr. Calvert, who taught constantly that the Established Church was the best means of providing for the care of a Christian Community.<sup>53</sup> No doubt there were others who influenced him: the Master and Fellows of Pembroke who knew him while he was reading for his Master's degree and signed his Letters Testimonial, Joseph Turner, John Calcutta White and Gilbert Ainslie;<sup>54</sup> Sir William Markby, Fellow of Corpus Christi, Dr. William Webb, master of Clare and President of the Antiquarian Society, and William Wright Rector of Long Stowe, who supported Hutchins in his candidature as beneficed clergymen: and, above all

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<sup>47</sup>Whittington, F.T. Op.Cit. p.20.

<sup>48</sup>Winstanley, A.C. Op.Cit. p.214.

<sup>49</sup>Milner, Mary. The Life of Isaac Milner, (Cambridge Deighton 1842) p.7.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid p.535-541 and p.328.

<sup>51</sup>Owen, John History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society (London 1816) Vol.II, p.560.

<sup>52</sup>Overton, J.H. The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, (London, Longman Green 1894) p.132f.

<sup>53</sup>"Thomas Calvert" Article in Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.III p.726.

<sup>54</sup>Ordination Papers.Ord/22. Norfolk Records Office.



perhaps, James Scholefield the curate of Holy Trinity.

Scholefield was obviously himself greatly influenced by Charles Simeon,<sup>55</sup> and indeed it would not have been possible to live in Cambridge as Hutchins did, certainly for eight years and maybe longer,<sup>56</sup> without knowing something of this extraordinary man.

Simeon had gone up to King's in the year that Joseph Hutchins went to Ansley. He was converted as he prepared himself for the compulsory attendance at Holy Communion.<sup>57</sup> Although he believed in the need for personal commitment, for a life of devotion and service, and for the acceptance of the supremacy of Scripture, unlike some evangelicals he also strongly supported the Established Church. If people realised its value he thought "there is scarcely a man in the Kingdom that would not fall down on his knees and bless God for the Liturgy of the Established Church".<sup>58</sup> He felt that Catholic Emancipation was inevitable but noted the dangers to which the nation would be exposed if it came about.<sup>59</sup> On Friday evenings the great man had a tea party at which members of the University would come to his rooms at King's to learn from him.<sup>60</sup> At Emmanuel House, James Scholefield also provided some tuition for ordinands.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Carus, William, Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, 1847. p.416. (London: Hatchard and Son, 1847, p.416.

<sup>56</sup>His ordination papers show him resident at Pembroke Hall and as having been there for the previous three years.

<sup>57</sup>Carus, William. Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, 2nd Ed. (London, Hatchard 1847) pp.6, 7.

<sup>58</sup>Carus. Op.Cit., p.300.

<sup>59</sup>Sermon preached in King's College, 23 March, 1823, noted in Carus, Op.Cit., p.630.

<sup>60</sup>Carus, Op.Cit., pp.648, 649.

<sup>61</sup>Scholefield, J., Article in Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVII, p.909.

There was not much other training for orders.<sup>62</sup> In stressing the evangelicalism of Simeon it has sometimes been forgotten that he was a loyal and convinced member of the Church of England. He was "more of a Churchman than a Gospelman".<sup>63</sup> Those who were influenced by him became good churchmen as well as good Christians.

Apart from his studies and his devotions Hutchins would have experienced a fairly exciting decade in Cambridge. His first year was a year of victory in Europe with addresses to the Prince Regent and illuminations in the town.<sup>64</sup> In June 1814, the Duke of Gloucester attended commencement with the famous Prussian Marshal Blücher who was made a Doctor of Laws and attended a banquet at Trinity. 1815 saw an epidemic of fever, the battle of Waterloo and a visit from the Prince Regent and the Duke of Clarence. In 1816 as a result of the postwar rural depression there were riots in the district and special constables were sworn in. At the beginning of 1817 the University sent an address to the Prince Regent who had escaped after being attacked on the way home from Parliament. In May there was a Petition against further concessions to the Roman Catholics. The following year His Royal Highness the Duke

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<sup>62</sup>Brown, C.K. Francis, A History of the English Clergy (London: Faith Press, 1953) p.241; c.f. also Clark, Kitson, Churchmen and the Condition of England (London, Methuen, 1973, p.48, 49, 50; Bullock, E.W.B., A History of Training for the Ministry, (St. Leonard's on Sea: Budd and Gillatt, 1955), p.20; Beggle, T.M., History of St. Augustine's Monastery and Missionary College, (Canterbury: Cross and Jackson, 1893)

<sup>63</sup>Brown, Abner W. Recollections of the Conversation Parties of the Reverend Charles Simeon, p.16.

<sup>64</sup>Cooper, C.H. Annals of Cambridge, Vol.IV, (London: Metcalfe 1852), p.505.

of Sussex was entertained for three days and given an honorary degree and there was widespread mourning on the death of the Queen. In 1819 the University sent a loyal address expressing horror at the "daring machinations of desperate and abandoned men" who were attacking Religion and the Constitution", and a similar address against the "factious spirit of anarchy" was sent in 1820.<sup>65</sup> On 12th March, 1821, a Petition was sent to the King against the Bill for Roman Catholic Relief. And the new King George IV was crowned on the 19th July, 1821.<sup>66</sup>

It is difficult to overestimate the impact of a Coronation Service - and there had been none for sixty years - upon those who regarded the Sovereign as Head of Church and State. For one who was himself to be ordained into a sacred ministry it must have seemed doubly symbolic. All the circumstances of his life seem designed to have bred in William Hutchins a triple loyalty: to his God, to his Church, and to his Sovereign.

After two more years spent in teaching, probably in Cambridge, Hutchins obtained his first curacy at Huddersfield.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps with crowds of other young men he went to receive from Charles Simeon his "parting counsels and benediction",<sup>68</sup> before he entered upon his life's work.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Cooper, C.H. Annals of Cambridge, Vol.IV, Metcalfe 1852, p.p.506, 509, 514, 516, 522, 525, 527.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid, p.529.

<sup>67</sup>Records at a Home for 'Decayed Gentlewomen' in Bath indicated that Rachael Hutchins supplied this information when she entered (Partis College Records, Newbridge Hill, Bath.)

<sup>68</sup>Stephen, James. Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography (London, Longman, Brown and Green, 1849. Reprinted 1972, Gregg ed.) Vol.II, p.370.

<sup>69</sup>On Hutchins's Ordination Papers there is a note 'title dispensed with' which was unusual; this suggests that he was to return to Pembroke as a teacher. He was ordained in Norwich on Letters Dimissory from the Bishop of Ely.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE PARISH MINISTRY

On the 10th March 1824 a commission was granted to Samuel Sharpe, Vicar of Wakefield, to administer the oaths to William Hutchins entering upon a curacy in Huddersfield. James Clark Franks, who had been Chaplain of Trinity, became Vicar of Huddersfield the previous year and invited Hutchins to share in the gospel ministry which had been started by Henry Venn in the 18th Century so vigorously that the mill workers of the dales referred to him as the "old trumpet".<sup>1</sup> Franks's nomination letter to the Archbishop of York<sup>2</sup> promised Hutchins a hundred pounds a year and a place of residence within a quarter mile of the Church, and guaranteed that he had no other position in the Church nor would hold any while Curate of Huddersfield. The old vicarage was undergoing repairs and in a few years would have to be replaced.<sup>3</sup> The Church itself was founded after the conquest and rebuilt in 1506. Hutchins remained here working with Franks until the beginning of 1825,<sup>4</sup> and was trained in the daily life of a junior cleric in an evangelical parish.

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<sup>1</sup>Moorman, J.R.H. Op.Cit. p.308.

<sup>2</sup>Letter of Nomination from James Clark Franks (Inst. AB 19, pp.114,115), The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York University.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis, Samuel. Topographical Dictionary of England, 1842. ...and the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey and Man etc., 4 Volumes, (London: S.Lewis and Co.,1842) 5th Edition.

<sup>4</sup>The York Visitation Call Book records him curate at this time. Borthwick Institute, University of York.

Tindal Hart has given a valuable summary of what a priest was expected to be<sup>5</sup>: religious leader, educationalist, social pastor, and man of culture. The long biblical sermon, the lads' Bible class, the moral policing of the village, the denunciation of drunkenness and gambling, the dependence upon the authority of scripture had a profound impact on the life of the community. Charity schools, Sunday schools and Church day schools educated so many children by the middle of the century that Parliament began to reckon by those who were not going to school rather than by those who were. The national attitude to children, especially children in work, slowly began to change. The parsonage also set an example in its cultural life, as Tindal Hart illustrates through the journal of the Reverend John Penrose, Vicar of Fledborough in Nottinghamshire. The national life was directed and supported to a large degree by the national Church. Hutchins believed that the Church did work and that nothing else would work better.<sup>6</sup> His evangelicalism was essentially Anglican rather than Arnoldian.

On the 17th of December 1824 Hutchins was licensed to Wirksworth by Henry Ryder, the new evangelical bishop of Lichfield, and the registers in the Wirksworth Church safe, indicate that Hutchins began his duties there at the beginning of March 1825. From then on the three registers<sup>7</sup> indicate that

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<sup>5</sup>Hart, A. Tindal, The Country Priest in English History (London: Phoenix, 1959) pp. 32, 33, 36, 46-50, 58, 79.

<sup>6</sup>He reminds us of Masfield's lines in "The Everlasting Mercy" - "You think the Church an outworn fetter  
Kane, keep it till you've built a better  
And keep the existing social state;  
I quite agree it's out of date,  
One does too much, another shirks,  
Unjust I grant, but still - it works."

<sup>7</sup>Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, Wirksworth.



he was resident in the parish until September 1829, apart from a period January to April in 1829. His license shows that his salary was £120 and he had the use of the vicarage which was rather dilapidated, the garden and the parish offices.

Wirksworth was a market town best known for its lead mines.<sup>8</sup> It had a fine stone Town Hall, a neat modern Moot Hall, a free Grammar School and a school attached to the Church in a stone building that still exists; and its leadership in trade dated from Roman times.<sup>9</sup> Its population was more than 7,000. There was a manufacturing industry in calico, gingham, silk, wool, and millinery. A canal provided an additional method of transporting goods. There was a weekly market, and four big fairs every year. On the river Derwent by Cromford, Sir Richard Arkwright had established a sizeable cotton mill. In this ancient royal manor<sup>10</sup> there was a Volunteer Infantry Corps sporting scarlet coats with yellow facings over white trousers; it was called out when very serious rioting occurred in Derby in 1831.<sup>11</sup> In 1817 two stonemasons had been condemned to death for capital treason and forty three had been sentenced to transportation for what was termed "rebellion", after a ten day trial.<sup>12</sup> Here, as in Huddersfield, Hutchins came into contact

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<sup>8</sup>Pigot, J. Directory of Derbyshire, (Manchester; Pigot and Co. 1828)

<sup>9</sup>Articles of Enquiry from the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission Office. Answer No.8.

<sup>10</sup>The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of the County of Derby, Vol.1, (London; James Street, 1905) p.297.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. Vol.II (London; Archibald Constable, 1907), pp.149, 155.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. p.p.152, 334.



with all types and he stored up his experiences. In discussing convict discipline<sup>13</sup> much later he made the comment that the poor people did not dread the punishment of transportation under the assignment system, though he went on to stress that few deliberately courted such punishment as a boon. Hutchins was not speaking without knowledge when he said that in his experience there were very few cases where 'wretched men have committed offences' in order to obtain a free passage to the Australian colonies. There is little doubt that the lead miners provided a rugged challenge to the young curate. Pilkington wrote that in no other part of England had he heard "so much rudeness, indecency, and profaneness".<sup>14</sup>

St. Mary's Church, Wirksworth, is a magnificent edifice, set in a cathedral-like close with the vicarage and school a stone's throw away. It is possible to picture it as Hutchins first found it for the meticulous Archdeacon Butler had recently completed his visitation.<sup>15</sup>

The patron and impropriator was the Dean of Lincoln. The huge mediaeval church seated two thousand and had spacious side aisles with room for two hundred in the galleries set aside for the poor. It was light, having numerous fine windows, and the fabric was in good condition. But the Bible needed repair in 1824, the prayerbook was in bad shape, and the Clerk's book was "indifferent". Linen and plate were "handsome", and the registers were well maintained in a commodious vestry. The tower and steeple and clock were in good repair.

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<sup>13</sup>V.D.L. Executive Council Minutes 28 August, 1837.  
A.O.T. EC 4/5.

<sup>14</sup>The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Derby.  
Op.Cit. Vol.II, p.334.

<sup>15</sup>Austin, M.R. "The Church in Derbyshire in 1823-4" in  
Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol.5, p.183.

All the details of the churchyard satisfied Archdeacon Butler and he found no problems from roving cattle. There were two Sunday services with sermon, and services as well on all the Saints Days; the sacrament of Holy Communion was celebrated eight times in the year. This pattern still obtained when John Harward answered the Articles of Enquiry in 1832.<sup>16</sup> The parsonage where Hutchins was to live was an old rambling house only in moderate repair, soon to be pulled down;<sup>17</sup> the whole complex was "inconvenient".<sup>18</sup> The church was well endowed and well supported by the gentry, particularly by the Gells of Hopton.

The school which was a few yards down the close from the Vicarage flourished under its Headmaster, the Reverend Nathan Hubbersty, who had been appointed in 1799<sup>19</sup> at a salary of £50. Boys of the parish paid two guineas a year for tuition in English subjects, the classics being taught free. There were thirty boarders paying £30 a year and about double that number of day boys, though this number is harder to establish.<sup>20</sup> In 1827 when Hubbersty's salary had been increased to £70 there seem to have been thirty three day boys, fourteen more doing classics and "others" being taught only elementary subjects, number unspecified. Archdeacon Butler noted that between ten and twenty boys were taken in "free".<sup>21</sup> In 1827 the school was rebuilt at a cost of £1500 and the Charity Commissioners found

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<sup>16</sup>Articles of Enquiry. Eccles. Revenues Commission Answer No. 12

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. Answer No.13.

<sup>18</sup>Archdeacon's Visitation in Austin, Op.Cit. p.184.

<sup>19</sup>The Victoria History of the Counties of England. Derby, Op.Cit. Vol.II, p.253. He occasionally took services at St.Mary's cf. Parish Registers.

<sup>20</sup>Austin. Op.Cit. in a note suggests a lower figure.

<sup>21</sup>Austin. Op.Cit. p.184.

that £900 was in the hands of Mr. Gell which really belonged to the school; they had to apply for the money in chancery.<sup>22</sup> There was also in Wirksworth a Sunday School containing forty boys and sixty girls which meant the numbers had gone down a little since 1818.<sup>23</sup>

Hutchins came then, to a busy challenging parish with a variety of work, and for most of his time had no incumbent to assist him, for Thomas Houldsworth does not seem to have been resident as his predecessor, George de Smith Kelly had been. This can probably be explained by the fact that Kelly also held the benefice of Kirk Ireton where his son was curate and his own curate, John Webster Hawkesley, resided with him in the Vicarage;<sup>24</sup> whereas in 1824 the Kirk Ireton living went to Robert Gordon who had his own curate.<sup>25</sup> There is no evidence of Houldsworth residing in Wirksworth though he took occasional services.<sup>26</sup> But not only did Hutchins come to a parish where there was an opportunity for a wide experience and for the acceptance of increasing responsibility, he also came into a diocese which had the first evangelical bishop,<sup>27</sup> and into an Archdeaconry which, as he immediately discovered in the Visitation instructions, had perhaps the most efficient and painstaking Archdeacon in Samuel Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>The Victoria History of the Counties of England. Derby, Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.253.

<sup>23</sup>Austin, Op.Cit. p.184 and Note No.9.

<sup>24</sup>Austin, Op.Cit. p.184 and p.111.

<sup>25</sup>Primary Visitation of Henry Lichfield, 2 September 1824. Visitation Book, Lichfield Records Office. B/V/1/116.

<sup>26</sup>Parish Registers of Wirksworth held in the Vestry.

<sup>27</sup>Carpenter, S.C. Church and People, (London: S.P.C.K., 1933), p.26 cf. also Mathieson, W.L., English Church Reform, 1815-1840 (London: Longmans and Co., 1932), p.38; Moorman, J.R.H. A History of the Church of England, (London: A. and C. Black, 1953) p. 316.

<sup>28</sup>Austin, M.R. Op.Cit. p.5.

It would be inconceivable that working under him for twelve years Hutchins did not learn a great deal; and it is a reasonable speculation that he gained from Butler much in terms of Church principle and of administrative method.

Butler was a remarkable man. He was an educational reformer before Thomas Arnold<sup>29</sup> and an ecclesiastical reformer<sup>30</sup> as well. As an Archdeacon he performed his duties from Shrewsbury, where he was Headmaster, through regular parochial visitations and by correspondence,<sup>31</sup> in his legal capacity through the Archdeacon's court and by his Charges of which Hutchins could have heard or read at least eight.<sup>32</sup> He would admit churchwardens to their offices and act as the "Bishop's eye" having a general disciplinary supervision over clergy and churchwardens.

In 1825, a good deal of the charge was devoted to education, but he took time to comment on the need for habitable parsonages, pointing out that there were seventy two churches without any place of residence.<sup>33</sup> Here presumably Hutchins could have learned a lesson he was later to apply in Van Diemen's Land. It seemed clear that a "parish priest" could not be effective unless he had a firm base to operate from and Hutchins therefore was to promote vigorously the building of parsonages as well as the building of churches.<sup>34</sup> Butler in this charge stressed the importance of religion in education.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Carpenter, S.C., Op.Cit. p.66.

<sup>30</sup>Mathieson, W.L. Op.Cit. p.70.

<sup>31</sup>Austin, M.R., Op.Cit., and Samuel Butler, Life and Letters of Dr.Samuel Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury 1798-1836, 2 volumes.

<sup>32</sup>Butler, Samuel. Visitation Charges, June 22,23, 1825; June 15,16, 1826; July 26,27, 1827; June 18,19, 1829; June 24,25, 1830; June 20,21, 1833; June 26,27, 1834; June 25,26, 1835. (London: Longmans, 1825-1835).

<sup>33</sup>Butler, Samuel, Op.Cit., Vol.I, p.334.

<sup>34</sup>Hutchins to A. Gardiner, 9 February, 1838, in Calder Papers, Latrobe Library, Melbourne, Box 88. See also Letter Book, Vol.I, pp.214,215.

<sup>35</sup>Austin, M.R. Op.Cit., p.15



He regarded the times as "the most experimental" of all periods, impatient of moral and religious restraint and discipline. If the torrent of infidelity and licentiousness was to be stemmed, the Church must give a right direction to the minds of the rising generation. Genuine and practical religion must early be impressed upon the young. Butler went on to castigate the "innovators and system framers" of the day who did not like that instruction should be conveyed by the clergy for they feared the moral as well as the religious influence of the clergy in society. He exposed the "specious pretence" of trying to confine clergy to the "peculiar" duties of their profession, and exhorted his clergy to be zealous in training the rising generation "in the way that it should go". Church schools should be formed in every parish that was connected with the Church Establishment, and the clergy should personally supervise these schools.<sup>36</sup>

This is the only NATIONAL education, which as long as the nation has an established church, the NATION can give. There may be a thousand plans of schemers, or philanthropists, or sectarians, but no education which does not bring children to the NATIONAL established church, can be entitled to the appellation of NATIONAL.

When Hutchins in Van Diemen's Land entered the educational controversy of 1839, what he did and what he wrote indicated that he had thoroughly absorbed this message.

Butler had deplored the fact that in his Archdeaconry twenty nine parishes possessed no school<sup>37</sup> and in his 1826

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<sup>36</sup>Austin, M.R. Op.Cit. p.16.

<sup>37</sup>Butler, Samuel, Op.Cit. Vol, p.335.

Charge he had more to say on education.<sup>38</sup> He pointed out that real learning takes time, patience, talent and opportunity. He regretted the tendency of ignorant people, fed a certain amount of information, feeling themselves able to make definitive judgements on vital issues - "in the laws in which our temporal, the morals in which our social, and the religion in which our eternal interests are at stake". Besides this echo of Pope's famous couplet, Butler had a devastating comment on modern trends in education:

When the road is smooth and easy, when resources are everywhere at hand, and even when the spur of ambition is blunted by the facility of attainment, it is in vain to expect great and towering minds. The stream of knowledge necessarily becomes shallower as it is spread; it occupies indeed a more widely extended surface, but it is stagnant, vapid, and powerless.<sup>39</sup>

In 1829, a year of crisis in the Church of England, when Parliament would pass the Act for Catholic Emancipation, Butler reminded his clergy that epochs are not really marked by centuries or by reigns but by "modes of thinking and acting".<sup>40</sup> He told them, and Hutchins seems to have agreed in this, that modes of thought are influenced by "circumstance, habit, design, caprice, and above all example". One age may be marked by its piety, another by its irreligion, another by its zeal for innovation. In 1833 Butler introduced the possibility of Liturgical Reform, and he was particularly critical of the Athanasian Creed.<sup>41</sup> Throughout the Church there was debate

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p..368,369.

<sup>39</sup> Butler, Samuel. Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, Vol. I, p.369.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p.425

<sup>41</sup> Austin, M.R. Op.Cit. p.9.



between those who wanted to maintain the traditional liturgy and those who wanted to make services more interesting and intelligible. As an Evangelical with a "high" view of the Church, Hutchins was prepared to see the validity of both arguments. For example he encouraged the development of hymnody as well as the retention of psalmody in the church services in Van Diemen's Land.

One incident in the Archdeaconry may have given Hutchins some guidance when he was called upon to deal with a similar situation not long after he arrived in Van Diemen's Land. A clergyman in the Archdeaconry wrote to Butler about trouble in his choir. Some of them had gone round the parish singing carols, collecting money, and drinking on the way. Despite due warnings the group had persisted, had been dismissed from the choir, but refused to vacate the singing gallery in the church.<sup>42</sup> Before answering, Butler made the following note:

No power. Bishop of London agrees with me. Possibly churchwardens may displace from gallery; but though the minister may appoint what shall be sung he cannot appoint who shall sing in it. Nor can he prevent them from singing the words out of tune - or to a different tune.

In all his dealings with the clergy Butler was liberal and tolerant.<sup>43</sup> He saw the Church of England as embracing many shades of opinion and regretted any movement towards exclusivism.<sup>44</sup> It would seem that Hutchins was mellowed likewise either by his

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<sup>42</sup>Butler, Samuel. Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.46.

<sup>43</sup>Austin, M.R., Op.Cit. pp.6,7,9.

<sup>44</sup>Butler, Samuel. Op.Cit. Vol.II, p.71.

example, or by the passage of time so that his evangelicalism was not priggish or abrasive, nor morbidly sentimental.<sup>45</sup>

In this last respect Hutchins could have learnt from Butler.

In the 1829 Charge he warned about the effect of "sentimentality in other acts of charity and benevolence".<sup>46</sup> There was a danger in the extension and generalisation of charitable acts. When confined to a narrow sphere charity was bestowed on objects whose wants were known and whose merits were appreciated. A kindly feeling existed between benefactor and recipient: the bounty of one was met by the gratitude of the other, and the "best feelings were generated in the breasts of both parties". A moral effect was produced, a chord was touched and the deed "blesseth him that gives and him that takes". When charity was swallowed up in "great and distant societies" this effect was lost and there was a "vortex of speculative and sometimes abortive benevolence".

In 1826 Hutchins saw installed in St.Mary's a new organ which was the culmination of improvements doubtless provoked by Butler's instructions.<sup>47</sup> Mr.G.F.Simms was elected organist and played the new instrument on Sunday the 16th April, "assisted by a full and able Vocal Choir".<sup>48</sup> In May of this year Hutchins preached a sermon on behalf of the "suffering manufacturers in the different parts of the country"<sup>49</sup> and a collection of seventy three pounds was taken to add to the funds then being raised on their behalf. Another sermon and collection took place on the 30th July.<sup>50</sup> In February of the following year other churches

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<sup>45</sup>c.f. Ibid. Vol.I, p.426.

<sup>46</sup>The Derby Mercury, 7 October, 1829.

<sup>47</sup>The Derby Mercury, 12 April, 1826.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>The Derby Mercury, 31 May, 1826.

<sup>50</sup>The Derby Mercury, 2 August, 1826.

followed Hutchins's example.<sup>51</sup> In December of 1827, Arnold, the gloomy prophet of the English Church, was elected Headmaster of Rugby;<sup>52</sup> years later he himself would supply a Headmaster for the Hutchins School. In January of 1828 an "alarming increase of crime in the country was reported"<sup>53</sup> and churchmen indubitably put this down to a weakening of the Church's influence. In November, Hutchins preached a special sermon on the need for building new churches and a collection was made for this cause.<sup>54</sup> However a much bigger issue was looming. In 1825 His Royal Highness the Duke of York had presented a petition from the deans and canons of Windsor praying that no further concessions be made to the Roman Catholics.<sup>55</sup> After reminding the Peers that the agitation on behalf of the Roman Catholics began during the Revolutionary Wars, he made two points. First he argued that it was wrong to allow the Roman Catholics, who "refused to submit to our rules" and denied any authority of the civil power over their church, to be admitted to Parliament where they would legislate for the Established Church. Secondly, he reminded the House of the Coronation Oath and the King's absolute commitment to maintain the Protestant reformed religion. There was a great difference between toleration, participation, and emancipation.

Their lordships were now required to surrender every principle of the constitution and to deliver us up bound hand and foot to the mercy

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<sup>51</sup>The Derby Mercury, 14 February, 1827.

<sup>52</sup>The Derby Mercury, 19 December, 1827.

<sup>53</sup>The Derby Mercury, 2 January, 1828.

<sup>54</sup>The Derby Mercury, 12 November, 1828.

<sup>55</sup>Document printed in Norman, E.R. Anti Catholicism in Victorian England (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968) pp. 125-128.

and generosity of the Roman Catholics without any assurance even that they would be satisfied with such fearful concessions.<sup>56</sup>

On the 15th July, 1826, Gorges Paulin Lowther, rector of Barton Blount, wrote a letter which he regarded as prophetic and significant. Barton Blount was a small village ten miles west of Derby and not very far from Hutchins's curacy. Some alterations had been done to the nearby church of Longford where Lowther was curate, which gave him the opportunity to bury the letter beneath the pulpit so that it could be found by one of his successors.<sup>57</sup> In the letter Lowther was most gloomy about the declining state of the country and predicted the downfall of the English nation. He felt that by the time the papers then buried saw the light England would be "under the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church".

During the years of 1827 and 1828 the minds of the clergy were much occupied with the proposed measure for Roman Catholic Emancipation.<sup>58</sup> On the 17th of December William Hutchins called a meeting on this issue to be held in the Red Lion Inn. So many people arrived that they adjourned to the Moot Hall, where Hutchins moved the following resolution:<sup>59</sup>

That while it is the decided opinion of this meeting that an unrestricted liberty of conscience should be

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<sup>56</sup>Speech of the Duke of York against Catholic Claims from Hansard XIII, pp.138-142, 25 April, 1825.

<sup>57</sup>Letter in the possession of the Vicar of Longford quoted by Austin, M.R., Op.Cit. p.3.

<sup>58</sup>Marsh, Catherine. Life of the Reverend William Marsh (London: Nisbet, 1878) Chapter IV, p.128.

<sup>59</sup>The Derby Mercury, 24 December, 1828.

allowed to persons of every religious persuasion,  
that Roman Catholics cannot safely be admitted into  
the Legislature of our Protestant state.

In proposing this motion Hutchins first justified himself for attending a public meeting. After all, curates were not supposed to be in the limelight and he was perhaps feeling a little anxious about a letter he had written to the paper which was shortly to be published.<sup>60</sup> It may not be coincidental that soon after this meeting he was moved to the small village of Kirk Ireton. On this occasion however, he spoke at length, beginning by questioning the abstract right of all people to be admitted to the public legislature of the country. To the modern radical this sounds incredibly reactionary but two things need to be recalled. First, Hutchins was speaking in the climate of 1828 and not from a base of late 20th Century presumptions. Secondly, it never has been shown by what abstract right 'everybody' should be permitted to enter Parliament or even permitted to vote. Major shifts in history take place because of the pressure of sectional interests and are rationalized and justified after the event.

Hutchins then "exposed the principles of Popery"<sup>61</sup> speaking of the ultimate designs of the Catholic Body and relating his arguments to the state of Ireland. Hutchins believed that the evidence of history, corroborated by the events of recent days showed that the spirit of the Roman Church was unchanged; it regarded itself as the "mother and mistress of all churches"<sup>62</sup> outside of which there was no salvation.

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<sup>60</sup>The Derby Mercury, 31 December, 1828.

<sup>61</sup>The Derby Mercury, 24 December, 1828.

<sup>62</sup>The Derby Mercury, 31 December, 1828.

The Council of Constance had decreed that "by no safe conduct granted by an emperor, king, or prince, to heretics by whatever engagement they may have bound themselves must any prejudice be caused to the Catholic faith". Irish Catholics had demonstrated the ultimate purposes of the Roman Church. Dr. Dromgale had said at the Irish Catholic Board in 1813, "If the Church of England trembles for its securities it must seek them elsewhere. We have no securities to give. If it be built upon sand ... it shall fall and nothing but the memory of the mischiefs it has created shall survive. Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it". The refusal of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to allow their adherents access to the Scriptures was yet another reason for Hutchins's suspicion and disapproval. The main argument of the Church had been set out in a Charge to the Clergy of Sarum from Hugh Pearson, Chaplain to His Majesty. The Roman Catholic Church was subversive or potentially subversive of the Nation's political and religious institutions first and particularly in Ireland, and after that elsewhere in the realm. Hutchins concluded his address by referring to the "spirit of evil which agitates the country"<sup>63</sup> He was greeted with cheers and supported in his resolution by the Reverend Mr. Hubbersty and the Reverend Mr. Gell. The resolution was passed.

On the 27th of February there was a meeting of the "True Blue Club" at the New Inn and a vigorous campaign was there launched against the Emancipation Bill and what were regarded as dangerous Roman Catholic pretensions.<sup>64</sup> On the

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<sup>63</sup>The Derby Mercury, 24 December, 1828.

<sup>64</sup>The Derby Mercury, 4 March, 1829.



11th March there appeared for the first time an outspoken advertisement for the Protestant Monthly Magazine.<sup>65</sup> By this time Hutchins had been moved to Kirk Ireton, a little village of seven hundred souls some miles away. One wonders why in the middle of a vigorous campaign one of the leaders had been removed from the centre of the stage. There may be a clue in the fact that at the next public meeting in the Moot Hall, the Vicar himself, the Reverend J.E.N.Molesworth, was in the chair.<sup>66</sup> Molesworth had only just become Vicar of Wirksworth and perhaps he felt the moment was propitious for him to assert his leadership. Hutchins may not have minded, for Molesworth was a friend of Broughton,<sup>67</sup> and a tough, resourceful, combative character well suited to controversy. He was the "very incarnate of the Church Militant", and became a "marked man among the political dissenters of the whole kingdom".<sup>68</sup>

If Hutchins learned administrative thoroughness, pastoral tolerance and scrupulous fairness from Butler, he might well have learned the art of controversy from his new Vicar. At the meeting of the 12th March, 1829, in the Moot Hall it was resolved that the principles of the constitution as established in 1688 were of essential importance to the security of the Protestant religion and were sanctioned by King, Parliament and people. The meeting saw any Emancipation measure as a "wrong and indignity offered to the nation",<sup>69</sup> since there had been no appeal to the nation and the measure was against the wishes of the majority. A petition was sent to the King.

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<sup>65</sup>The Derby Mercury, 11 March, 1829.

<sup>66</sup>The Derby Mercury, 18 March, 1829.

<sup>67</sup>Note: He preached at Broughton's consecration.

<sup>68</sup>Ward, W.R. Religion and Society in England 1790-1850. (London: Batsford, 1972) pp.185, 188.

<sup>69</sup>The Derby Mercury, 18 March, 1829.

In his four years at Wirksworth Hutchins had gained valuable experience in administration, in controversy, in the management of a parish, and in a ministry among a varied community.<sup>70</sup> And what he might have missed in Wirksworth he made up in Kirk Ireton.<sup>71</sup>

This quiet Derbyshire village was three miles south of Wirksworth with a population of about seven hundred.<sup>72</sup> The ancient Norman Church could accommodate about half that number. The living, in the gift of the Dean of Lincoln, was worth about £400 and the curate's stipend was £120. Shortly after Hutchins went there the living changed hands; Henry Gordon, Vicar of Searle in Nottinghamshire and Rector of Edlaston in Derbyshire, took over this benefice in addition to his other responsibilities. Hutchins lived in the Rectory and ran the Parish with occasional assistance from Gell and Hubbersty,<sup>73</sup> from March 1829 to April 1836. The charming twelfth century church was given to Lincoln Cathedral with St. Mary's, Wirksworth, by Henry I and it was considerably extended in the 14th Century.<sup>74</sup> It has a unique

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70 In the Wirksworth registers are found the following occupations: Miner, tailor, cordwainer, weaver, labourer, spinster, framework knitter, joiner, miller, nail maker, hatter, woolcomber, calico weaver, farmer, butcher, brazier, tinman, shoemaker, stonemason, higgler, glazier, victualler, woodcutter, post boy, servant, paper maker, smelter, petrefactioner, miller, boatman, gentleman, grocer, blacksmith, cooper, engineer, book-binder, excise officer, gamekeeper, clerk, sawyer, heelmaker, chairbottomer, druggist, tallow chandler, baker, plaisterer, redlead burner, silk weaver, waggoner, bookkeeper, gardener, iron manufacturer, malster, draper, coachman, fishmonger, wicket-maker, forgerman, stonegetter, wheelwright, currier, tapeweaver.

71 In the Kirk Ireton registers are found in addition: Publican, ratcatcher, cheesefactor, and jobber.

72 Articles of Enquiry from Ecclesiastical Revenues Commissioners. Commission Office, London.

73 Articles of Enquiry Eccles Commission. Also Parish Registers at Kirk Ireton.

74 Short History of Holy Trinity Church, Kirk Ireton. Pamphlet. (Derby: J.M. Tatler and Sons, no date).

pre-reformation vestry with a beautiful Early English door and doorway; the four leafed flowers within the moulding of the arch are cut with an unusual skill and precision. When Archdeacon Butler visited he gave instructions that the church and tower should be pointed where necessary - there had been considerable damage in a great storm in 1811 - that new linen and plate should be purchased, that drains should be cleared, pews and floor mended, and the porch pavement repaired. The churchyard also needed attention. Prior to Hutchins's arrival there had been trouble between the clergy and the churchwardens; keys had been withheld and documents removed; factions had been encouraged and the rector resisted. The Archdeacon had to remind the wardens of their oath of obedience.<sup>75</sup> The rectory where Hutchins lived was a low house with two sitting rooms opening through each other, one of them with a stone floor. There were four small bedrooms, a stable and a barn, and a good garden whose outline is still visible. There were two little day schools, one with sixteen children and the other with seven, and a Sunday School with a hundred children. The little village had six inns, two of which still exist, the "Barley Mow" and the "Bull's Head".<sup>76</sup> Hutchins conducted two services with sermon each Sunday, and there were regular services on Saints Days. For him, for his parish, and for the nation at large, Sunday was the Lord's Day. It was generally accepted that on this day people's thoughts should be turned towards their spiritual responsibility. This was part of the English way of life and it was the duty

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<sup>75</sup>Austin, M.R. Op.Cit. pp.110,111.

<sup>76</sup>Short History of Holy Trinity Church, Kirk Ireton. Pamphlet.(Derby: J.M.Tatler and Sons, no date).

of the authorities to ensure that the sabbath was duly observed.

In 1832 a Parliamentary Select Committee was appointed to enquire into the laws and practices relating to the Observance of the Lord's Day and to report their observations. Sections of this report illustrate the attitude of government and society to the keeping of Sunday and the role of Church and State in the maintenance of social morality.<sup>77</sup> The Committee found that there was a general desecration of the Sabbath. Workmen were being paid in Public Houses late on Saturday or on Sunday morning with the inevitable bad consequences. People were being deterred from attending Sunday services by drunkenness in the streets. The Committee further commented that the loss of the Christian Sunday "brings on necessarily premature decay and death". The tenor of the law had been favourable to the maintenance of the institution, the observance of which might be regarded as a safe test of the greater or less degree of moral and religious feeling pervading the community. It was the obligation of legislators to promote by all suitable means the Glory of God. It was one thing to force the conscience of a man, but it was another to protect his civil liberty of worshipping God on the Lord's Day from the avaricious or disorderly encroachments of his unconscientious neighbour.

Church and State worked together to promote and preserve a Christian way of life. Inevitably they operated on outward forms rather than inward realities, but they did so in the belief that the maintenance of the one assisted the maintenance of the other. Hutchins grew up and worked in this environment and he shared this view.

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<sup>77</sup>Report of House of Commons Select Committee on Sunday Observance, 1832. Microfiche in Tasmanian University. British Sessional Papers 7.253.

In 1833 and 1834 Hutchins made trips home to Ansley apparently to assist his ailing father.<sup>78</sup> He was there when his father died in March. Meanwhile events were moving in England and Australia that were to change his life.

During 1835, while Archdeacon Broughton was in England campaigning against Bourke's plans for education, Australia was created a bishopric and following long negotiations Broughton accepted the see and was consecrated in February, 1836, at Lambeth,<sup>79</sup> with Hutchins's one time vicar, Molesworth, preaching the sermon. Even before his consecration Broughton had persuaded the Colonial Office to make Van Diemen's Land an archdeaconry so that a man with legal ecclesiastical powers could take over the leadership of the Church in the Colony and restore order and morale. He wrote to Sir George Grey,<sup>80</sup> the permanent assistant under secretary for the Colonies, putting forward Hutchins's name for the new Archdeaconry. In support of his own good opinion he quoted the Bishop of Lichfield, the evangelical Ryder, as valuing most highly his character, zeal and prudence - three assets much needed in anyone who was to lead the Church of England in Van Diemen's Land. Glenelg was satisfied with the nomination and from his own knowledge of the evangelicals in London he may well have had ways of making a personal check.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Ansley Parish Registers in Warwickshire County Records Office. C.R.O. D.R. 298.

<sup>79</sup>Cable, K.J., Article on "Broughton". A.D.B. Vol.I, p.157.

<sup>80</sup>Broughton to Geo.Grey. C.O. 280/72/08043/2, 28 January, 1836. Public Records Office, London.

<sup>81</sup>Geo.Grey to Broughton. C.O. 280/72/08043/4, 4 February, 1836. Public Records Office, London.



Broughton, who was at Canterbury,<sup>82</sup> arranged to meet Hutchins at Cambridge in what must have been a nostalgic setting. It would have been difficult for Hutchins, remembering the tradition of Henry Martyn and others who had followed him, to give a negative answer. If the King wanted him, Hutchins was ready to go.<sup>83</sup> No time was lost and in a week Broughton was told that his nomination had been accepted, that he should inform Hutchins, and that the new Archdeacon-elect should "lose no time in preparing for his departure".<sup>84</sup>

There seems to have been a feeling that Van Diemen's Land was in trouble and needed both a new Governor and a new church leader as soon as possible. Having given the new Bishop time to notify Hutchins, Grey then wrote to him officially from the Government saying that 'His Majesty has been pleased to approve of your nomination'.<sup>85</sup> Grey added that it would be desirable for him to make early preparations for departure since the Government would pass the necessary Letters Patent speedily. On the 29th of February 1826 Hutchins wrote acknowledging the approval of King William to his nomination,<sup>86</sup> and promised that he would make arrangements for his departure to the Colony "with as little delay as possible". This letter is from Kirk Ireton where, as the registers indicate, he had spent the last seven years. It must have seemed to William that this indeed was a remarkable call from God, a vocation for which his life to that point was a preparation. For here was an obscure curate in a remote isolated, unimportant parish, chosen for a special, challenging role in a very distant land.

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<sup>82</sup>Broughton to Grey, 28 January 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/2.

<sup>83</sup>Broughton to Grey, 11 February 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/5.

<sup>84</sup>Grey to Broughton, 18 February 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/6.

<sup>85</sup>Grey to Hutchins, 25 February 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/7.

<sup>86</sup>Hutchins to Grey, 29 February 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/8.



CHAPTER 4  
SOCIETY AND THE CHURCH IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND  
1804-1837

Van Diemen's Land posed a peculiar challenge to a clergyman trying to establish the Christian church as the source of spiritual strength and cultural unity in a country so distant and, notwithstanding appearances, so different from England.

Van Diemen's Land in fact contained "one of the most amazing communities on the face of the nineteenth century earth"<sup>1</sup> socially unbalanced, hard pressed economically, morally disorientated, severed from its birthplace, and hovering self-consciously between a prison camp and a pioneer settlement. Attempts to ape the social life of the homeland and create a working model of Georgian society were more successful in terms of physical duplication than of spiritual reality. But the attempts were significant and not without effect.<sup>2</sup>

Though the Colony was of such recent foundation, Hobart itself was a substantial and well constructed place. It was expensive to live in and the comforts and necessities of life were not easily procured. There was a clear line of demarcation between convicts and free persons which made social intercourse difficult. Bad roads did not encourage visits between settlers. It was not easy to trust merchants nor to find reliable workmen, especially men skilled in agricultural pursuits. Yet it was still possible to create settlements that were reminiscent of the fields and gardens of England.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Robson, L.L., The Convict Settlers of Australia, (Melbourne Melbourne University Press 1965) p.110.

<sup>2</sup>c.f. Hattersley, A.F., "Migration within the Empire". Article in History New Series, Vol.XXXIV, No.122, (Oct.1949), p.245.

<sup>3</sup>Curr, Edward. An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, (London 1824) Facsimile Edition. Platypus 1967, pp. 5, 9, 11, 17, 32, 33, 43.

And it was possible to prosper once placed upon one's own acres free of rent and property tax.<sup>4</sup>

There were numbers of "poor emigrants and down at heel convicts"<sup>5</sup> and one part at least of Hobart Town was notorious for its squalid dwellings and for its continual debauchery and drunkenness; St. Giles's, as it was known, was the district around Harrington Street north of Melville Street and it contained "the worst and poorest part of the population".<sup>6</sup> There were many taverns where troubles could be forgotten and a fellowship of liquor discovered; Hobart had at least thirty-four inns, Launceston nineteen, and there were sixteen in the country.<sup>7</sup> But there were also schools with schoolmasters like James Thomson, Robert Giblin, and Robert Claiburne who had some influence on the course of education in the colony,<sup>8</sup> and there was a mechanics' institute which offered lectures and a library.<sup>9</sup> The new arrival in Hobart would notice convicts in grey, or black and yellow, some in chains, looking like clowns;<sup>10</sup> but he would still be agreeably surprised to find Hobart a much larger and better built place than he had expected with an air of English comfort distinguishing it from other foreign towns.<sup>11</sup> The successful pastoralist could own

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<sup>4</sup>Bolger, Peter. Op.Cit. p.20.

<sup>5</sup>Bolger, Peter. Op.Cit. p.18.

<sup>6</sup>Hutchins to Campbell 4 March 1841. U.S.P.G. 2823/41.

<sup>7</sup>Widowson, Henry. The Present State of Van Diemen's Land (London 1829), p.24.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid pp.25,121; A.D. Baker, The Life and Times of Sir Richard Dry (Hobart. Oldham, Beddome & Meredith, 1951) pp.18,19.

<sup>9</sup>West, John. Op.Cit. p.99; Hobart Town Chronicle 14 May, 1833.

<sup>10</sup>Syme, J. Nine Years in Van Diemen's Land (Dundee. Middleton, 1848) p.13.

<sup>11</sup>Elliston, W.Gore. Op.Cit. 12 Jan. 1830.

thousands of acres, many sheep, cattle and horses, a good garden and a well stocked orchard; he could live in a large comfortable house with capacious outbuildings. But the cost was unremitting toil for all members of the family, acute isolation, and the tainting influence of female convicts and male assigned servants.<sup>12</sup>

Far away from the familiar sights of the homeland settlers worked unremittingly to reproduce the "tasteful and comfortable mansions and cottages" of England,<sup>13</sup> its neat villages and prominently placed churches, so that an observer visiting the island in 1840 found the society of Hobart Town "most perfectly English, and therefore most agreeable".<sup>14</sup> But the members of that society were fearful and insecure, obsessed with the petty details of etiquette and convention.<sup>15</sup> The young women were pretty and sharp witted, but frivolous, empty and ignorant.<sup>16</sup> The young men were "practical, hardy and shrewd"; they had to be. Ross noticed with distress the difference in education and ideas between the English educated parents and their grown up children who were no better than the "lower uneducated order at home".<sup>17</sup> Colonial newspapers nostalgically reprinted news from England, but the editors, like the settlers, were insecure; so they wrote with dogmatic assurance, chasing every little wind of change. Freemen were

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<sup>12</sup>Elizabeth Leake to Mrs. Taylor 8 June 1833. Leake Papers. Tas. Univ.

<sup>13</sup>Strzelecki, Paul de. Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (1845) p.381.

<sup>14</sup>Ross, James Clark, A Voyage of Discovery and Research 1839-1843 (London: John Murray 1847) i. 120.

<sup>15</sup>Meredith, Mrs. Charles. My Home in Tasmania (London. Murray, 1852) i. p.36.

<sup>16</sup>Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson, 28 April 1840 (R.S. 16/6/1/11).

<sup>17</sup>Ross, James Clark. Loc.Cit.

proud of their prosperity and resented Governor Arthur trenching "upon that unrestricted liberty" which they claimed.<sup>18</sup> The class structure was unfamiliar and failed to provide the stability which had been known at home.<sup>19</sup> The Government class were officers, disillusioned and often small minded and sycophant business men who allied themselves with the authorities. The respectable free settlers were largely at the mercy of the Governor who could withdraw their assigned servants. The free "inferiors" were poor emigrants suddenly elevated to a position of unaccustomed superiority compared with the prisoner population or emancipists trying to shake off the marks of their convictism. Below all were the prisoners for whom the penal colony had been founded and upon whom its prosperity had been built. No class was content with its lot and few were content with their class. It was a time of social mobility in which political debate was carried on as personal dispute and vulnerable people were easily hurt; whenever a stable system of social organisation seemed to be developing an influx of convicts stopped the growth.<sup>20</sup> The lack of moral influence in domestic life gave a "harsh, peremptory, and overbearing character to the whole intercourse of society".<sup>21</sup> Every difference of opinion made a quarrel and every act or decision of the Governor or the Council constituted "a ground of vehement complaint".<sup>2</sup> Joan Goodrick in a recent book gives instances of class jealousies which occurred when a number of grades were introduced into the

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<sup>18</sup> Arthur to Goderich. O.D. 23 March, 1827. G.O. 33/2 A.O.T.

<sup>19</sup> c.f. Syme, J., Op.Cit. p.106.

<sup>20</sup> c.f. Bolger, Peter., Op.Cit., p.33.

<sup>21</sup> Maconochie, Captain., Australiana: Thoughts on Convict Management, (London. J.W.Parker, 1839) p.6.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. c.f. also John West, Op.Cit., 136, 139; Henry Melville, Op.Cit., p.161.

small society of Van Diemen's Land,<sup>23</sup> and suggests that slander was more prevalent in Hobart than in any other part of the world. Hobart reacted to the growing dissension between the colonial government and the free settler by donning a social gloom in which some competed for favours and others eased the hurt of thwarted ambition with a "spirit of detraction."<sup>24</sup> Malcontents in England, reading about the Crown's offers of acres in the distant colony and stories about the success of many settlers, coveted the dignity and independence based on landed wealth, ignored the requirements of tedious labour and the disappointments of failed crops or weak markets, and emigrated with high hopes.<sup>25</sup> Many were unsuccessful and joined with shiftless pensioners and ignorant girls to swell the ranks of the poor.<sup>26</sup>

The presence of large numbers of convicts clearly made a deleterious impact upon the community, especially when Governor Arthur stressed the fact that Van Diemen's Land was a penal colony above all else and therefore gave priority to the maintenance of convict discipline.<sup>27</sup> Settlers might see convicts in one of five guises: ticket of leave men, assigned servants, mechanics on public works, members of a road party, or workers in a chain gang. They knew of many living in a penal settlement, some of those incarcerated in chains.<sup>28</sup> It would seem an understatement to

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<sup>23</sup>Goodrick, Joan. Life in Old Van Diemen's Land (Melbourne. Rigby Ltd. 1977) pp.9-11, 166,167.

<sup>24</sup>West, John. Op.Cit. pp.93,94,136.

<sup>25</sup>West, John. Op.Cit. p.105.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid. pp.120,121.

<sup>27</sup>Bolger, Peter. Op.Cit. p.22; Shaw,A.G.L., Convicts and the Colonies (Melbourne. M.U.P. 1977) p.217.

<sup>28</sup>Moore, James F.H. The Convicts of Van Diemen's Land 1840-1853. (Hobart. Cat and Fiddle Press, 1976) p.35.



say that the presence of convicts cast a shadow over society. In 1835, as Melville estimated, nearly a half of the population of about forty thousand were convicts.<sup>29</sup> The constant round of crime and punishment was part of life and with the assignment system few families could have been unaware of it. In some cases, as with the Ansteys, assigned servants brought personal tragedy.<sup>30</sup>

Everywhere one was reminded of the convicts even without their actual presence; gibbets, stocks, the moveable huts of the road parties, and the special sections in the churches were grim marks of an island prison. When the island was divided into police districts in 1827 under the jurisdiction of a stipendiary magistrate<sup>31</sup> the "raison d'etre" of the stations scattered through the island became even more obvious. The neat English village which looked so charming to Strzelecki existed primarily because there were convicts working in the area.

With the growth in numbers of the population and the loss of the early camaraderie, the insecurity and isolation became more of a burden and the inhabitants looked for cliques with which to identify.<sup>32</sup> With an increase in facilities and in domestic comfort people became more aware of what they lacked.<sup>33</sup> Relief was often found in the taverns and drunkenness continued to be a problem. But

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<sup>29</sup>Melville, Henry. Op.Cit. p.162; Forsyth, Op.Cit. p.100

<sup>30</sup>Brown, P.L. (ed) Clyde Company Papers. Prologue, p.98  
c.f. Crookes, Robert. The Convict. Typescript. Hobt. Univ.  
Library 1958, p.16.

<sup>31</sup>West, John, Op.Cit. p.85.

<sup>32</sup>Bolger, Peter. Op.Cit. p.34; Browne, P.L. Op.Cit.  
126-128; c.f. also W.G. Elliston Diary 31 Jan. 1830 E5/1/2  
Tas. Univ.

<sup>33</sup>Syme, J. Op.Cit. p.14; Browne, P.L. Op.Cit. p.206, 207;  
Elizabeth Leake to Mrs. Taylor 8 June 1833; John Leake to  
William Bell 10 Dec. 1840.



there was hope that education would change the habits of the dissolute and provide the basis of a united society.<sup>34</sup>

The threat from Aborigines had virtually gone and the danger of bushrangers was much diminished but the official lists of atrocities committed by the natives were a haunting shadow and during the Franklin period attacks from bushrangers were not unknown.<sup>35</sup> These additional threats to life were another factor in the feeling of uncertainty and the desire for greater stability. Outwardly, as Bischoff found, there were all the signs of a progressive and civilized community:<sup>36</sup> houses, churches, chapels, farms, factories, mills, breweries, and tanneries; a busy port encouraged a growing shipbuilding industry. But a civilised and coherent culture was more of shadow than substance. Since 1803 there had been much progress; the emigrant of the thirties had comparatively speaking an easy course before him. However, changes had to take place<sup>37</sup> if the aspirations of the free settlers and the reformation of the convicts were to be realised. The island to which Hutchins was sailing was ready for change, and he would have agreed with a comment of Maconochie's,<sup>38</sup>

There is no bond of social union stronger than a community of worship, nor any civilizer like a perception of Christian faith and morals.

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<sup>34</sup>West, John. Op.Cit. p.99; Hobart Town Chronicle, 25 March, 1833.

<sup>35</sup>Brown, P.L. Op.Cit. pp.68-70, c.f. Bischoff, J. History of Van Diemen's Land (London: Richardson, 1832. Facsimile Library Board of S.A. 1967) p.43.

<sup>36</sup>Bischoff, J. Op.Cit. pp.59-65.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. pp.80,81; c.f. also Maconochie. Op.Cit. p.57

<sup>38</sup>Maconochie, Op.Cit. p.195.

It might be that the cultural unity and the social orientation which was needed in Van Diemen's Land could indeed be supplied by the Church. However, it would be difficult to make an impression on a society devoted to its own survival and permeated by indifference and vice. In such a bottom-heavy society of criminals, rustics and city poor it was hard to find pewholders and hearers. Those who came to the colony were not very Christian, and the parson faced a greater challenge than he might have done in an English parish.<sup>39</sup> The colonists of Van Diemen's Land, unlike the pilgrim fathers of America, had not emigrated to avoid persecution; they had been intent rather on the acquisition of wealth with little thought of more durable riches or an eternal reward.<sup>40</sup>

In such a context it could be argued that it is not a shame that the Church did little but rather a miracle that it did so much. The chaplains were not missionaries who planted the seeds of Christianity in Van Diemen's Land; they followed a Christianity which in some measure came out from England in the hearts of emigrants and convicts and indeed Governors:<sup>41</sup> a Christianity considerably influenced by John Wesley and the Evangelical Revival with an individualism whose significance has already been examined. The task of the chaplains was to provide an institutional base

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<sup>39</sup>Bollen, J.D. Op.Cit. p.14.

<sup>40</sup>c.f. Inglis, K.S. The Australian Colonists (Melbourne. M.U.P. 1974) p.82.

<sup>41</sup>c.f. Mrs. Williams to Mrs. Reid, 10 Oct.1836, Journal Op.Cit. p.20; George Martin to Mary Martin 29 Oct. 1836. Letter in R.S. Archives, No.134; Elliston, W.G. Diary, Op.Cit. 18 Aug.1833; John Leake to Sir Eardley Wilmot, 31 Sep.1846. Leake Papers, Op.Cit. p.69; c.f. also Bollen, J.D. Op.Cit. p.18

which would give some permanence to a piety that was constantly under threat. Spiritual and cultural "content" needs some regular, ritual "form". If Christianity was to be a uniting, value-giving, influence to the settlers, then there needed to be a united church, and that was not the case in 1836.

The Church to which Hutchins was sailing was an infant church struggling to meet the needs of a community whose urbane appearance<sup>42</sup> belied the evil nature of a society whose odd mix was to continue well past the middle of the century.<sup>43</sup> From the first service on Sunday the 26th February, 1804,<sup>44</sup> to the day of Hutchins's arrival the leading ecclesiastical figure had been the Reverend Robert Knopwood, who indeed had been the only minister in Van Diemen's Land for nearly half that period; few of the other clergy attained his stature.

This naval chaplain was different from many of his ministerial colleagues in Australia in one significant detail. He was not, as many of them were, a product of the Evangelical Revival. Richard Johnson, Samuel Marsden, Roland Hassall, Samuel Leigh, William Cowper, Robert Cartwright, and Richard Hill, early ministers in New South Wales, were really missionaries infected with the zeal of the English Revival. Almost all the ministers who came after Knopwood to Van Diemen's Land were of that mould. Christianity came to Australia on

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<sup>42</sup>Elliston, W. Gore. Diary 12 Jan. 1830. E5/1 Tas. Univ. Arch.

<sup>43</sup>Arthur to Bathurst 15 Aug. 1824. HRA Ser. III Vol. IV, p. 161. c.f. also Bolger, Peter. Hobart Town (Canberra A.N.U. 1973) p. 134.

<sup>44</sup>Nicholls, Mary (ed) The Diary of the Reverend Robert Knopwood 1803-1838 (Hobart: T.H.R.A., 1977) 26 Feb. 1804, p. 45.

the spring tide of the missionary movement, and although the Church's energies were being absorbed by dozens of new stations throughout the world, a few men reached this distant outpost.<sup>45</sup>

These missionaries brought with them a conception of the church as the elect body of people who had experienced personal conversion and were therefore set apart from the rest of society. Knopwood on the other hand was a traditional 18th Century churchman, believing in the sacramentalism of Richard Hooker, and seeing the Established Church as the nation at prayer. His diary shows the care with which he administered the rites of passage, baptism, marriage, and burial; and if he missed a Sunday service it was because he was suffering more than usual from his kidney and bladder complaint.<sup>46</sup> For Knopwood, children of the nation were born and baptised into the Church and passed on into eternity by the grace of God. The task of the minister was to remind people of God's mercies and of their obligations, especially their moral duties.<sup>47</sup>

Elie Halévy wrote of the Church of England that like her liturgy the Church was not the work of one man, of one society, or of one age; it was the "precious result of accumulative and collective wisdom".<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Bollen, J.D. Religion in Australian Society. The Leigh College Open Lectures 1973. Series II, pp.6,7.

<sup>46</sup>Knopwood Diary Op.Cit. 18 March 1804, 28 May 1808, 23 Oct.1814, 26 March 1815, 6,7,8 June 1815, 12 April 1816, 1 Jan.1817, 10 Oct.1817, 18 April 1819, 2 Jan.1820, et. cetera. pp.44f.

<sup>47</sup>c.f. Knopwood, Sermons. M.S. R.S.10,13 in Tas. Univ. Archives.

<sup>48</sup>Halévy, E. England in 1815, Translated by Watkin and Barber 2nd Ed. (London: E.Benn, 1949) pp.390,391,392,395.

About its clergy he made three comments which are pertinent to this study. First, he claimed that the English clergy were intellectually inferior to those of Europe. Secondly, their religion was a system of humanitarian ethics, and thirdly a man became a clergyman almost by chance.

When Halévy wrote disparagingly of a young man of reasonable background and education entering the ministry through circumstances or parental caprice, or because the army after the Peace of 1815 did not offer a promising career, he failed to make an important point. These candidates for holy orders were Christians in the sense that the Church of England was Christian, and in the sense that England was a Christian nation. They knew the essentials of their faith, believed in Christianity in a general way, and in many cases made conscientious and effective parsons. The fact that a man could so readily choose between law and commerce, the military and the church, is not so much a condemnation of church life as a reminder that in the first half of the nineteenth century at least, any man could regard himself as sufficiently a Christian as to be ordained if that opportunity presented itself.

The feature of the Church and of its ministers was that it was an ethical church. The English church like the English nation has always tended towards some form of Pelagianism. Knopwood's sermons show this tendency and confirm that he was in the mainstream of Anglican tradition

unlike many of his Australian colleagues.<sup>49</sup> We find him preaching on Flattery, Pride, Personal Endeavour, Use of Talents, Forgiveness of Personal Injuries, Good Works, Evil Company, Youthful Piety, Malice and Resentment, Morality, Profession and Practice, Truth, Benevolence and Gratitude, Danger of Riches, Behaviour and Friendship. Not only in the pulpit but in his daily life, Knopwood stressed the importance of Christian behaviour in terms of benevolence, humility, and lack of malice, as well as zeal in the work to which people were committed. His diary reveals these qualities in his personal life and demonstrates too that he was a concerned and conscientious pastor, visiting assiduously the poor and the sick and the many in prison.<sup>50</sup>

The Christianity Knopwood brought to Van Diemen's Land was a national religion, and he received his commission from the Sovereign who ordered him to obey such directions as he would receive from time to time "from us, our Governor in New South Wales and any other your superior officer".<sup>51</sup> That would not have surprised or distressed Knopwood as it would have distressed some clergy later on. He was a minister of the national, established church and it was quite proper for the Head of that Church to issue a clergyman's commission, and

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<sup>49</sup>Knopwood Sermons, *Op.Cit.* 14 Sep.1828, 22 Aug. 1806, 27 Aug.1826, 23 July 1827, 13 April 1828, 6 Sept. 1829, 9 May 1830, 30 Oct.1830, 11 Nov.1832, 1 Nov.1834, 11 Jan.1835, 27 Feb.1836, 25 Sept.1836, 4 Dec.1836, et cetera.

<sup>50</sup>Knopwood. *Diary Op.Cit.* 13,14 April 1806, 4-6 Feb. 1814, 23-26 May 1815, 30 May-3 June 1815, 4-8 June 1815, 21-25 Jan.1818, 18-25 April 1820, et cetera. p.105f.

<sup>51</sup>H.R.A. Series III, Vol.I, p.4.



for the representative of the crown to give him directions; especially was this true in a penal colony where the civil power depended heavily on military force. In these early years there was no conflict between Church and State. Knopwood's flock in 1804 consisted of all the 262 souls who camped at Sullivan's Cove in February and the 433 who joined them in June.<sup>52</sup> As the little colony grew so did his cure, and it made no difference whether they were Roman Catholics or Dissenters; the priest of the "national" church had a responsibility to them all. The evidence of Knopwood's diary is that he did attempt to fulfil that responsibility in extremely difficult circumstances.

Knopwood gave hospitality to high and low and he entertained clergy of all kinds no matter what denomination they belonged to; he was generous to prisoners and to the poor as well as to the aborigines.<sup>53</sup> He was a pleasant companion and a general favourite, tolerant, conscientious and polished.<sup>54</sup> In no way could he be accused of grabbing privileges and power. The prayers of his diary and his sermons make clear that he brought to his understanding of the world an eternal dimension and he taught unswervingly man's ultimate obligation to God.

John Youl, who came to Tasmania in 1819, was a missionary, a "pious and good man" according to Governor Macquarie, who had been commissioned for service in the

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<sup>52</sup>c.f. Tasmanian Year Book, 1972, p.5.

<sup>53</sup>Knopwood. Diary Op.Cit. 15,16 Nov.1815, c.f. West. Op.Cit. p.265.

<sup>54</sup>West. Op.Cit. pp.68,69,71,72.

Pacific Islands by the London Missionary Society. Following a short term with the Presbyterians in New South Wales, he returned to England where he was ordained into the Church of England and gazetted as Chaplain of Port Dalrymple. Delayed in New South Wales while arrangements were made to receive him in Launceston, Youl eventually took up his duties in November 1819.<sup>55</sup> According to West, he summoned his congregation with a bell made from an iron barrel, walking through the streets in his canonicals. But his example was pure and he cultivated the minds of the young, speaking out against vice.<sup>56</sup>

By 1820 when Bigge was conducting his enquiry services were being held from time to time in Hobart, New Norfolk, Pittwater, Launceston and Georgetown, in barns or a stable, a carpenter's shop, a verandah, or in the open air. Services were attended by all groups including the Catholics, and the rites of passage were generally sought and valued. There was evidence of moral reform, though of course its link with the ministrations of the Church would have been hard to demonstrate.<sup>57</sup> At any rate the "utility of religion was never openly questioned."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>c.f. K.von Stieglitz The Pioneer Church in Van Diemen's Land (Hobart: Walch, 1954)

<sup>56</sup>West. Op.Cit. pp.71,72.

<sup>57</sup>H.R.A. Series III, Vol.III, pp.364,365.

<sup>58</sup>West. Op.Cit. p.72.

When Benjamin Carvosso landed in Hobart on the 25th April, 1820, he visited Knopwood in his little cottage and found him very polite and obliging. Indeed it was with Knopwood's help that Carvosso arranged his first meeting.<sup>59</sup> Samuel Leigh, William Horton and Thomas Walker, three more Methodist missionaries also met a warm welcome from Knopwood who encouraged them in their saving ministry.<sup>60</sup> Ralph Mansfield was yet another who enjoyed Knopwood's hospitality.<sup>61</sup> Methodist missionaries who came later, John Hutchinson, Nathaniel Turner and Joseph Orton also had little difficulty in their relationships with the Anglican Church.<sup>62</sup> The Roman Catholic representative, Father Conolly, arrived in Hobart in March 1821 but in the period up to 1833 the Catholic Church made little headway under his leadership.<sup>63</sup> He too found Knopwood friendly and hospitable.<sup>64</sup>

In the years just prior to Hutchinson's arrival the vision of Polding, Catholic Bishop of the Australian region from 1834, and the vigour of his Benedictine assistant, Ullathorne, began to make an impact.<sup>65</sup> Conolly after

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<sup>59</sup>Pretyman, R.D., The Early History of Methodism in Hobart 1820-1840, article in T.H.R.A.P. Vol.10, 1962, 1963, p 47.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p.50, c.f. West, Op.Cit., p.267 and Knopwood, Op.Cit. 22 Aug.1821, 23 April 1822, 3 Feb. 1823.

<sup>61</sup>Knopwood, Op.Cit. 26 Aug., 1820. p.337.

<sup>62</sup>Pretyman, Op.Cit., pp.54, 58, 59, 60.

<sup>63</sup>Ullathorne, Op.Cit. p.63.

<sup>64</sup>Knopwood, Op.Cit. 27 Aug.1824, et.cetera. p.337f.

<sup>65</sup>Shaw, G.P. Op.Cit. p.368.

disagreeing with Father Therry in Sydney had gone to Hobart in 1821 without enthusiasm. For twelve years he was alone and a state of things grew up which resulted in many complaints.<sup>66</sup> When Ullathorne visited Hobart in 1833 he found the chapel in a "terrible state of neglect".<sup>67</sup> Affairs were not much better when the new Catholic Bishop Polding arrived in Hobart in 1835, and in the following year Father Cotham complained that it was impossible to co-operate with Conolly. Dr. Polding therefore returned to Hobart with Father Ullathorne, and replaced Conolly with Father James Watkins who became Vicar General. The Catholic Church began to make progress.<sup>68</sup> Governor Arthur provided money for churches in Hobart and Richmond and for a schoolroom.<sup>69</sup>

By December 1820 Knopwood was recording in his diary full services in his new Church which held 832 people and he was also taking services at Clarence Plains, Pittwater and Newtown.<sup>70</sup> At Easter he reported a large number of communicants, an unusual feature for the Anglican church of those days.<sup>71</sup> Amid the vice and bitterness of a penal settlement and despite the inevitable materialist distractions of a new colony a

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<sup>66</sup>Ullathorne, Archbishop. Autobiography (London. Burns and Oates. 1868) p.63.

<sup>67</sup>O'Brien, E.M. Life of Archpriest Therry (Melbourne, Angus and Robertson, 1922) p.194.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid. pp.194-197.

<sup>69</sup>Levy, Op.Cit. pp.201,202.

<sup>70</sup>Knopwood, Op.Cit. 3 Dec.1820, 16 June 1821.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid. 7 April 1821.

Christian ministry had been established in the twenty years of Knopwood's lonely service.

In January 1823 the Revd. Archibald McArthur began a Presbyterian ministry in Hobart for the United Associate Synod which believed in complete independence from the State and in the Voluntary principle.<sup>72</sup> He was joined by James Garrett in 1828 while the Established Presbyterian Church sent out John Mackersey to begin his ministry in 1829, and John Anderson who began in 1832. Garrett was able, ambitious, and controversial; he may well have felt a little guilty about accepting aid from the Government in contravention of his supposed principles. He was tardy and bad tempered, more concerned with his own welfare than the care of his flock, and not much liked in the community.<sup>73</sup> Certainly he was to make it very difficult for the Anglican Church at Bothwell.

Also in January 1823 there arrived in Hobart the Revd. William Bedford,<sup>74</sup> another controversialist and the first of the odd assortment of evangelical parsons who brought to Van Diemen's Land a different conception of the nature of the Church. With his stern denunciation of the evils of his day, Bedford has been compared to one

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<sup>72</sup>Heyer, J. Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land pp.12,13.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid. pp.13,14. c.f. also Clyde Papers, Prologue, Op.Cit. Alexander Reid to Capt. and Mrs. Williams, p.99; Mary Reid to Jane Williams, 14 Feb.1831, p.117, Reid to Capt. and Mrs. Williams, July 1833, p.173.

<sup>74</sup>Knopwood, Op.Cit. 31 Jan.1823.

of the old Hebrew prophets,<sup>75</sup> and seems to have been about as popular. As an Evangelist he was prepared to preside over the Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Mission, and to help Ralph Mansfield prepare a code for the civilizing of the Aborigines.<sup>76</sup> He had been a corset maker but had become a missionary at Newgate under the patronage of Mrs. Fry before accepting a chaplaincy in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>77</sup> He enjoyed a fair reputation as the reformer of convicts.<sup>78</sup> He is said to have spoken as if he had hot pudding in his mouth and to have behaved like a "pompous ass".<sup>79</sup> According to Levy, he was arrogant, hypocritical, and lax.<sup>80</sup> Bishop Nixon saw him as "shrewd, intelligent and firm, but headstrong, indiscreet and vain".<sup>81</sup> He was ordained for the colonies upon the presumption that any ignoramus was good enough. Robert Crooke, who was a little extreme in his views, claimed that Bedford thought more of his breakfast than of the souls of condemned prisoners. He loved food and drink more than his Bible so that his ministrations were of no value. On

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<sup>75</sup>Barrett, W.R. Op.Cit., p.2.

<sup>76</sup>West, John. Op.Cit. pp.71,269.

<sup>77</sup>Markham, Edward. Op.Cit. p.24.

<sup>78</sup>Widowson, H. Present State of Van Diemen's Land (London. Robinson, 1829) p.59.

<sup>79</sup>Markham, Edward. Op.Cit. p.25.

<sup>80</sup>Levy. Op.Cit. p.180.

<sup>81</sup>Nixon, Norah. The Pioneer Bishop in Van Diemen's Land 1843-1863. (Hobart. Walch, 1954) Letter, 24 Feb.1844. pp. 22-24.



one occasion in the Female Factory he was coughed down, and on another occasion he lost his trousers to the women convicts.<sup>82</sup> Certainly he was not the pastor of souls that Knopwood had been, and seems to have been an example of an Evangelical preacher who had become formalistic; he knew nothing of the tradition of the parish parson and had a limited vision of the Church's task in Van Diemen's Land. He was the senior chaplain for ten years during which time the penal colony grew rapidly and the gloomy picture which Arthur reported to Bathurst in 1826 was not much ameliorated.<sup>83</sup>

In February 1825 William Garrard arrived to take up a chaplaincy at Sorell, having been ordained by the Bishop of Bristol "for the colonies".<sup>84</sup> According to Knopwood he was a bad preacher who preached a bad sermon.<sup>85</sup> "Such a preacher I never heard before." Young William Sorell heard Garrard the same year and classed him as a Methodist parson. He was sorry to see such canting fellows sent out to the Colonies. He was reminded of Wilberforce, Buxton and Co. - "but this firm will soon be declared defunct I hope."<sup>86</sup> Sorell was an ordinary churchman looking for a sacramental and supportive religion with some

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<sup>82</sup>Crooke, R. The Convict. Typescript. Tas.Univ.Lib. 1958. pp.19,22,23,24.

<sup>83</sup>Arthur to Bathurst. 21 April 1826. H.R.A. Series III, Vol.V, p.150.

<sup>84</sup>Registry for Van Diemen's Land, entry 1 April, 1828. T.A.N.S. 373/241.

<sup>85</sup>Knopwood. Op.Cit. 15 May, 1825.

<sup>86</sup>Sorell, William. Journal, Sunday, Feb.13, 1825. Sorell Papers. Tas.Univ.Deprt.Hist.Reports on Hist.MSS of Tasmania, Series II, No.1.

theological substance and being disappointed. He was friendly with Knopwood whose sermons, in contrast with Bedford's and Garrard's, were "much praised".<sup>87</sup>

Garrard was at Sorell until 1832 where he apparently had good relations with the non-conformists as he did at New Norfolk where he died in 1847, having been its chaplain for fifteen years.<sup>88</sup>

Hugh Richard Robinson, who arrived in June 1825, was one of three Irish Anglicans who came to Van Diemen's Land in this period. His introduction to his new "parish" at New Norfolk was dramatic because it was in the month of July when Knopwood was attacked in New Norfolk by four bushrangers.<sup>89</sup> Robinson saw the church of St. Matthew consecrated by Archdeacon Scott and a beginning made on building the parsonage; though he was apparently less successful at Bothwell where the intrigues of Garrett led to the church there being locked "in his face" when he "appeared in full array".<sup>90</sup> Since Robinson seems to have been fairly friendly with Knopwood<sup>91</sup> it may be deduced that he was less of a "methodistical" parson than Garrard despite his evangelicalism. However he died in 1832 so that his

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<sup>87</sup>Knopwood. Op.Cit. 5 Jan.1825 et cetera and 8 May 1825. pp.443,450.

<sup>88</sup>Watson, R.A. Churches of Van Diemen's Land (Hobart: O.B.M. 1976) pp.9,10,18,30.

<sup>89</sup>Knopwood. Op.Cit. 24 June 1825, 26 July 1825, 31 July 1825, c.f. also Registry for Van Diemen's Land. Op.Cit.

<sup>90</sup>James Garrett to Capt. Williams, in Brown, Op.Cit. p.127.

<sup>91</sup>Knopwood. Op.Cit. 4 Apr.1826, 27 July 1826, 3 Oct.1826, 16 May 1827, 7 May 1828, 23 May 1828.p.477f.

contribution was limited.

James Norman was yet another clergyman ordained for the colonies with little training and no academic background.<sup>92</sup> He had been a missionary in Sierra Leone, moved to New South Wales as a "colonial" priest and was sent by Scott to replace Youl in Launceston. When it was found that the Secretary of State had already appointed William Browne, Norman was asked to take charge of the Orphan School at New Town. In his letter of appointment Scott reminded him that he was not under "any other control than that of his Excellency" and subject only to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archdeacon.<sup>93</sup> After five months in Launceston, Norman moved to New Town and at the time of Scott's visitation in 1828 he was able to report that St. John's Church was nearly completed and that a gallery had been planned for the children of the Orphan School. His wife died in September of 1829 and in the following year he went to stay at Government House rather than live alone in a rented house in New Town. He became an "evening lecturer", which probably meant that he did some freelance preaching, until he was appointed to Sorell in 1832, where he stayed for thirty four years save for a brief spell at Prosser Plains in 1847. In 1833 he married Eliza Pike the daughter of the catechist in the Oatlands-Green Ponds district. He

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<sup>92</sup>Registry of Van Diemen's Land. Op.Cit.

<sup>93</sup>Norman, James. Life's Varied Scenes (Ilfracombe, England. Arthur H. Stockwell, 1962) pp.7,8.

compiled a vocabulary of the aboriginal language.<sup>94</sup>  
Like Garrard he got on well with the non-conformists.<sup>95</sup>

Dr. Drought, whose brief spell in Van Diemen's Land was spoiled by scandal, was another Anglican chaplain who enjoyed amicable relations with the non-conformists, as his friendship with James Garrett in the early thirties indicated.

Drought made only a small contribution to the life of the Church in his short spell of service though he seems to have been popular as a man. He appears to have been the only Anglican clergyman to get on with Garrett at Bothwell because he was genial and easy going; on the other hand the tales told of his personal life did nothing to enhance the reputation of the Church of England.

The second Irish Anglican was William Henry Browne who was ordained by the Bishop of Cloyne in 1825 and appointed to the colonies in 1828. Like Robinson he was appointed to hold office during the King's pleasure to officiate at such places as the Archdeacon should determine "to the advancement of religion and virtue".<sup>96</sup> He arrived in Hobart on the "Coronet" complete with doctorate and took up his post in

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<sup>94</sup>Norman. Op.Cit. p.8; Watson, Op.Cit. pp.10,15,29, 38; Knopwood, Op.Cit. 11 Sep.1829, 12 Mar.1830; 5 May 1830; Diocesan Registry, Op.Cit. pp.9,52.

<sup>95</sup>Backhouse, James. Extracts from the Letters of James Backhouse in Ten Parts. First Part. 3rd.Ed. (London. Harvey and Darton, 1838) pp.45,72.

<sup>96</sup>c.f. Royal Warrant signed by Huskisson 27 Feb. 1828 in Diocesan Registry, Op.Cit. p.57.

Launceston in November.<sup>97</sup> As could be expected from his background and training he was a staunch evangelical who seemed to be more at home with the non-conformists than with the Anglican hierarchy. His diary reveals him as a very dutiful, serious man visiting jail, school and hospital regularly and setting aside Saturday for the preparation of his sermons.<sup>98</sup> His doctrinal position is a little revealed in the fact that when the Independent minister left Launceston the congregation moved happily to St. John's.<sup>99</sup> He was friendly with the Methodist minister and encouraged a Methodist lay preacher to assist him with the road gangs.<sup>100</sup> He was beneficent and zealous in his missionary work, visiting the sick and dying, ships in port, and the bushrangers who had attacked him.<sup>101</sup> He vigorously supported the Bible Society, the Temperance Society, the Mechanics Institute, and the Savings Bank.<sup>102</sup> He could be critical of the authorities if he thought injustice had been done.<sup>103</sup>

Robert Rowland Davies was ordained by the

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<sup>97</sup>Knopwood. Op.Cit. 6 Oct.1828, c.f. also A.D.B. Vol.1, p.168.

<sup>98</sup>c.f. Browne. Diary 9-28 Jan.1833 et passim. Northern Regional Library, Launceston.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid. 27 Jan.1833.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid. 6,22 April 1833. c.f. 10 Feb.1833.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid. 14 Mar., 1,19,26 April, 20 Dec.1833, 1,9,10 March 1834.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid. 26 April, 4 June, 27 June 1833. c.f. also A.D.B. Vol.1, p.169.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid. 10 March 1834. There are similar entries in the journals 1830-1832, 1833-1837, 1838-1844.

Bishop of Cloyne a few days after Browne,<sup>104</sup> and he was encouraged to emigrate to Van Diemen's Land by letters from his friend. Having been appointed to a chaplaincy on 11th May, 1829, to "officiate as a minister of the established church", he arrived at Norfolk Plains in April 1830.<sup>105</sup> Davies was an effective minister and was much admired and liked because he was liberal minded. His language was beautiful with every sentence telling; he was one of the most admired clergymen. "If there were more men in the country like him, the Wesleyans would have no followers among the educated class."<sup>106</sup> This third Irish Anglican was another uncompromising evangelical who only slowly came to understand the role of the Church as a united and uniting body.

In 1824 Arthur had asked Lord Bathurst for more chaplains so that there could be religious instruction for convicts and settlers with the express purpose of improving the moral character of the inhabitants.<sup>107</sup> This request was repeated in 1826 when Arthur sent to the Secretary of State a gloomy picture of the state of the colony, a picture of "disaffection and vice".<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>Registry of V.D.L. Op.Cit. Davies Warrant. p.57.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Mrs. Williams to Mrs. Reid, 5 Nov.1836, 13 Nov. 1836 Brown, P.L. (ed.), Clyde Company Papers, Vol.II Mrs. Williams' Journal (London; Oxford U.P. 1952).

<sup>107</sup>Arthur to Bathurst, 15 Aug., 22 Oct.1824, H.R.A. Ser.III, Vol.IV, pp.161,202.

<sup>108</sup>Arthur to Bathurst, 21 April 1826. H.R.A. Ser.III, Vol.V, p.150.



In addition a Rural Dean was asked for who could substitute for the Archdeacon when he was absent in New South Wales.<sup>109</sup> Bedford would have been the obvious choice for this position but Arthur had serious misgivings about his suitability.<sup>110</sup> William Bedford Junior who returned to Van Diemen's Land in June 1833 having taken his degree at St. John's, Cambridge, was a possibility, but the Governor deemed him too young and gave him a chaplaincy at Campbell Town. So it was that Philip Palmer, yet another missionary parson, found himself Rural Dean. He arrived in Hobart at the end of June 1833 and took up his duties straight away with the unfortunate result of further dividing the community and weakening the church.

However, despite the wrangling which marred the work of the Church, much was accomplished. In 1826 the colony, according to Arthur and Scott, was in a parlous state. In 1834 Richard Stickney wrote to his sister Sarah from Sydney that people would be surprised to find in a convict colony, Bible Societies, Benevolent Associations, Missionary meetings and Dissenters's chapels, even a Temperance Society.<sup>111</sup> But these things did exist; the Hobart Town Chronicle in April 1833 advertised the first tract of the Van Diemen's

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<sup>109</sup>H.R.A. III, V, p.163.

<sup>110</sup>Levy. Op.Cit. pp.179-182.

<sup>111</sup>Stickney to Sarah. 21 June 1834. Stickney Papers. Tas.Univ. Dept. of Hist.Reports on Hist.MSS of Tasmania, Series II, No.5.

Land Temperance Society, a meeting of the Book Society, and a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.<sup>112</sup> Divine Worship was well attended, the Mechanics Institution was active and there were meetings of the Union Lodge of Freemasons.<sup>113</sup> The Church had become a moralizing and civilizing influence in the new colony.<sup>114</sup>

The Merediths enjoyed peaceful parties, dances, and picnics, and went to Church with the servants.<sup>115</sup> J.W. Evans's Uncle and Aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Baker, returning to Tasmania in 1834 after ten years absence, remarked favourably on the great changes that had taken place.<sup>116</sup> The Hobart Town Monthly Magazine in 1833 provided ample evidence that the society was becoming peacefully settled, with people attempting "to inculcate virtue" as the way "to eradicate vice".

Thirty years ago, Van Diemen's Land was worse than a wilderness, the abode only of the brutal savage ... The nucleus of a powerful territory has been planted, towns and villages have sprung up ... and extensive and increasing commerce has been established, and everywhere we see the marks of man's power and perseverance ... Hobart has good shops, excellent inns with excellent

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<sup>112</sup>Hobart Town Chronicle, 9 April, 1833.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid. 7, 14 May, 11 June, 18 June, 1833.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid. 11 June, 1833.

<sup>115</sup>Hudspeth, W.H. Hobart Town in the Thirties  
R.S. 3/4(5) pp.8, 30.

<sup>116</sup>Evans, J.W. Letters and Papers. A.O.T. NS 254.

prices, a commodious church.<sup>117</sup>

The appointment of the Revd. T.B. Naylor to the Orphan Schools in 1835 and of the Revd. W.J. Aislabie to Richmond the following year brought the number of officiating Anglican clergy to ten. With the ministers of other denominations and the catechists they were making a significant impact on the life of the community.

In Governor Arthur's view however the clergy of 1836 were still not doing enough. He regarded them as an obstacle rather than an aid, because they were not in his view sufficiently zealous in their missionary activity. They were not forceful enough to make an impression on the lower classes in the community who constituted the main part of Tasmanian society. He wanted men in the pulpits who combined the vigour and perseverance of Methodists with the refinement of feeling and expression of the good Anglican minister.<sup>118</sup> The reason for Arthur's continuing concern about the clergy is clear. He saw them as a means of raising the moral standard of the penal colony over which he presided. Between 1824 and 1836 the emphasis was upon moral reform, and the purpose of religious instruction was to lead the colonists towards

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<sup>117</sup>Hobart Town Monthly Magazine. Vol.I, No.6, pp.3,26. c.f. also Elliston, W. Gore. Diary. 12 Jan.1830, 14,19 April, 1833, 2,9 Feb.1834, E 5/1 Tas.Univ.Archives.

<sup>118</sup>Arthur to Glenelg, 4 May 1835. G.O.33/19 A.O.T.

greater sobriety and industry.

The important fact in the history of the Church in Van Diemen's Land is not that the clergy failed to achieve all that Governor Arthur looked for, but rather that they succeeded too well in making evangelical morality the central point of their message. Peter Bolger describes the sophisticated inhabitants of the colony in the middle years of the century as "middle class expatriates, whose most characteristic attitude to life was that of the evangelical liberal."<sup>119</sup> For such people present restraint and discipline meant a future of comfort and prosperity. What stood in the way of this material progress was the slackness and incompetence of the lower classes which should be amended by the intervention of the ministers. In a developing colony what was needed was the evangelical idea of self-help, "the idea that individual responsibility led by way of individual satisfaction to common good."<sup>120</sup> Evangelical churchmen could be leaders in reform, first moral but then social and political. It was the future prosperity and happiness of the colony which was at stake, not the obligation of Christians to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever. In his desire for men of enthusiastic temperament and ardent zeal Arthur would have been supported by Glenelg, the Secretary of State, and by James Stephen, the under-secretary, both of them

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<sup>119</sup>Bolger, Peter. Hobart Town (Canberra: A.N.U., 1973) p.99.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid. p.105.

convinced evangelicals.<sup>121</sup> Even earlier however, the home Government had appointed to Van Diemen's Land evangelical missionaries, and Robert Knopwood was virtually the only representative of the traditional Anglican church. Few of his colleagues had much experience of Parish life and they had little understanding of the complex cultural system of which the English national church was the centre. If the colony was to inherit the British tradition of organic social responsibility<sup>122</sup> the only vehicle which might transmit the tradition was the national church already established in the colony<sup>123</sup> but not yet fulfilling its unifying role. The presence of missionary chaplains - as distinct from parish priests - was to encourage individualism and material success. The only concept of the "Church" which was preached with clarity was one in which emphasis was placed on the body of committed believers. This meant that a large number of colonists were "outsiders" whose only benefits from the Church would be a morality evolved from religious instruction and a social convenience provided by the rites of passage.

T.S. Eliot in discussing the relations between Church and State has abstracted three historical points:

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<sup>121</sup> c.f. Knaplund, P. James Stephen and The British Colonial System. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1953) pp.18, 32, 134.

<sup>122</sup> Bolger Op.Cit. p.105.

<sup>123</sup> Syme, J. Nine Years in Van Diemen's Land (Dundee: Middleton, 1848) p.52.

that at which Christians are a new minority in a society of positive pagan traditions; the point at which the whole society can be called Christian, whether in a single body or in a stage of division into sects; and finally the point at which practising Christians must be recognised as a minority in a society which has ceased to be Christian.<sup>124</sup> There seems to be little doubt that the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land in 1836, whether settlers or convicts, would have regarded themselves as part of a Christian society. Notwithstanding the growth of secularism and privatism the Church continued to exercise an influence on the life and development of Van Diemen's Land through its ministers, its committed members and its ideas by means of the parish system which Hutchins was to establish. Professor Chadwick has given a graphic picture of a Victorian pastor, William Wayte Andrew, acting decisively to guide the young people of his parish in Norfolk, rebuking the wicked, including a man about to throw a stone, as well as the Squire's wife for giggling during Divine Service. Andrew visited his parishioners regularly and he complained about one family where the animals were more religious than the owners.<sup>125</sup> Hutchins likewise could rebuke Captain Forth and young Bedford, and the good opinion of the minister was a

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<sup>124</sup>Eliot, T.S. The Idea of a Christian Society (London: Faber and Faber, 1939) p.12.

<sup>125</sup>Chadwick, Owen, Victorian Miniature, (London, Hodder and Stoughton 1960) pp.24,25,32,37.



prize to be grasped at.<sup>126</sup> Dr. Browne's strictures on his Launceston parishioners covered crime, calumny, and industrial negligence,<sup>127</sup> and did not pass unnoticed by society at large.

Members of the Church were active in good works, and through them the Church had a benign moral effect on the community. The Church attempted to inculcate virtue since that was easier than eradicating vice in a small community where there were many temptations.<sup>128</sup> Drunkenness which was rife was met by temperance societies and pamphlets appearing largely through the efforts of clergy and lay churchmen.<sup>129</sup> In August of 1832 James Norman established a temperance society in Sorell with James Backhouse.<sup>130</sup> In 1833 the first tract of the Van Diemen's Land Temperance Society appeared under the auspices of the S.P.C.K.,<sup>131</sup> and in the same year it was optimistically reported that a man even of the lowest class was ashamed to confess that he had been drunk. "But! the enemy is still strong and

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<sup>126</sup>Forth to Hutchins. 19, 22, 23 Jan. 1839. Calder Papers. Box 88. Latrobe Library.

<sup>127</sup>Browne, W., Diary 20 December 1833, 9 March 1834, 10 March 1834, 5 January 1838, 3 April 1841; c.f. Cornwall Chronicle 31 March, 21 July, 6 October, 13 October, 20 October, 27 October, 3 November, 24 November 1838; Launceston Advertiser 11 October, 18 October 1838.

<sup>128</sup>Hobart Town Monthly Magazine Vol. 1, No. 6, 1833, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup>Kilner, Rod, Temperance and the Liquor Question in Tasmania in the 1850's. Art. in THRAP Vol. 20, No. 2, 1973 p. 85.

<sup>130</sup>Backhouse, James, Extracts from the Letters of James Backhouse in Ten Parts, First Part, 3rd Edition (London: Harvey and Danton 1838) p. 45.

<sup>131</sup>Hobart Town Chronicle, 9 April 1833.

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rife among us." Among Hutchins's clergy Fry and Stackhouse were active in the temperance movement and though the Church was wary of teetotalism as a substitute for Christianity the temperance cause was first taken up by the Church, and the first Temperance Hall built in Bathurst Street by 1847.<sup>133</sup>

The early efforts of the Church were still bearing fruit after Hutchins's arrival. By 1841 St. Mary's Hospital had opened for working men and their families with Bedford, Garrett and Gell on the committee of management.<sup>134</sup> Clergy were also prominent in the establishment of the "Hobart Town Association for Model Lodging Houses and Cottages for the Working Classes".<sup>135</sup> The wives of ministers were personally involved in the work of the "Hobart Maternal and Dorcas Society" whose very name indicated its Biblical background; destitute married women and their babies were helped with goods and nursing.<sup>136</sup> Dr. Browne founded the Launceston Bank for Savings in the 1830's, and the Quaker, G.W. Walker, established the Hobart Town Savings Bank in his drapery shop in Liverpool Street in 1845, writing in each Pass Book "Whilst we are

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid, 11 June 1833; c.f. Kiddle, M., Men of Yesterday (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1961) p.117.

<sup>133</sup> c.f. Solomon, R.J., Urbanization: the Evolution of and Australian Capital. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1976) p. 169.

<sup>134</sup> c.f. Prospectus for St. Mary's Hospital A.O.T.

<sup>135</sup> c.f. Prospectus of the Association. A.O.T.

<sup>136</sup> Papers of the Hobart Maternal and Dorcas Society. Royal Society MSS. University of Tasmania.

laying up Treasure on Earth, let us also lay up Treasure in Heaven." The first savings banks in Britain had been founded by parsons as a service to working people.<sup>137</sup> John Harrison, the Registrar later appointed by Hutchins, was a leading figure in The Tasmanian Leader, a family weekly journal which aimed to advocate the right without vilifying those who disagreed, and planned to include religion among its topics.<sup>138</sup> The S.P.C.K. published in Hobart a catalogue of "improving" books<sup>139</sup> whose circulation was noted with approval by H.B. Stoney when writing about his residence in Tasmania.<sup>140</sup> In 1840, a Dispensary for the poorer classes was opened by Dr. Bedford.<sup>141</sup> Moral principles were to be instilled into the flock who came under the sound of the gospel. "Preach frequently, and with authority" said Hutchins, according to Lady Franklin.<sup>142</sup> Meetings on religious or philanthropic subjects were patronised by clergy and church members, and ministers were "ever ready to help

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<sup>137</sup>The Hobart Savings Bank. A Review of its Century of Progress 1845-1945. (Hobart, J. Walch & Sons 1945) pp.1, 2, 3, 6.

<sup>138</sup>Prospectus of The Tasmanian Leader, A.O.T.

<sup>139</sup>c.f. Catalogue of Books and Tracts at the Depository of the Tasmanian Branch Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, A.O.T.

<sup>140</sup>Stoney, H.B. A Residence in Tasmania, (London: Smith Elder 1856) pp.110, 111.

<sup>141</sup>Hobart Town Courier 24 November 1840.

<sup>142</sup>Boyer, P.W., Leaders and Helpers: Jane Franklin's Plan for Van Diemen's Land. Art. in T.H.R.A.P. Vol.21, 1974, p.54.

the needy and console the suffering".<sup>143</sup> The humanitarianism of the Christian Church had a significant effect on social welfare provision in the nineteenth century, and clergymen tempered to some degree the way in which governors and people dealt with the Island's aborigines.

So the distant land to which Hutchins had been appointed presented a paradox. Outwardly society looked English and settled, although beneath the surface optimism there smouldered much petty bickering, a spirit of "knocking", and an obsession with material possessions; below the appearance of vigorous dissemination of news and culture lay the reality of gossip, slander and mediocrity. On the one hand the clergy to whom he was going had contributed much to the softening and civilizing of a rugged and brutal community; on the other hand the radical evangelicalism of many clergymen emphasized the importance of the individual, joining with secular liberalism in putting private judgement above corporate conformity, inviting dispute and division, and exposing the society of Van Diemen's Land to further fragmentation. Nineteenth century Liberals, rather like emigrants, knew clearly what they wanted to get away from but they had only the haziest notion of what they needed to preserve; their New World made up in roseate hues what it lacked in substance. One of the major forces in promoting this negative liberalism was the Arnoldian belief that the Christian Church should and could be eclectic and undenominational as well as evangelical.

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<sup>143</sup>Fenton, James, The Life and Work of the Reverend Charles Price (Melbourne, Robertson, 1886) p.77.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CALL TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

Although much had been achieved by the Church in Van Diemen's Land, the lack of far-sighted administrative leadership had brought disputes and increasing criticism. When Archdeacon Broughton had first visited the island in 1830 he made a good impression<sup>1</sup> and there was kindled a desire among the inhabitants to build churches.<sup>2</sup> But his next visitation in 1833 was not a success<sup>3</sup> causing little stir and achieving almost no publicity. Some reckoned the cost of the visit exceeded its value<sup>4</sup>; others said it was a good thing when he returned to Sydney.<sup>5</sup>

Somewhat reluctantly Broughton appointed Philip Palmer, the new arrival sent by the Colonial Office, to be Rural Dean in charge of Van Diemen's Land. Instead of supporting his authority against the jealous William Bedford who had been in Hobart since 1823 and considered himself Senior Chaplain, Broughton limited Palmer's responsibilities to services

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<sup>1</sup> Shaw, G.P. William Grant Broughton and his Early Years. Thesis. A.N.U. 1970., p.129, 130 quotes Hobart Town Courier, 27 February 1830, 6 March 1830, and the Tasmanian, 26 March 1830.

<sup>2</sup> Hobart Town Almanac 1830, p.9, Hobart Town Courier 24 April 1830, 1 May 1830.

<sup>3</sup> Tasmanian, 8 February 1833, Hobart Town Courier, 1 February 1833.

<sup>4</sup> The True Colonist, 11 June 1833.

<sup>5</sup> Colonial Times, 25 June 1833.

<sup>6</sup> Hart, P.R. Article on "Palmer" in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.II, p.311.

and correspondence.<sup>7</sup> So the seeds of trouble between the two men were unwittingly sown. Shortly afterwards Broughton returned to England to get help from the British Government and from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in order that he might build more churches and obtain more clergy.<sup>8</sup> In his absence things did not go well in Tasmania. Dr. Drought, the chaplain of Green Ponds from 1831 to 1834, continued to behave very oddly.<sup>9</sup> He married people in inns and took part of the fee in orders for spirits. He lived with a housekeeper with whom his relations seemed to be quite intimate, and there were scandalous rumours that she was his daughter.<sup>10</sup> When Arthur indicated that he would remove Drought, Broughton considered this an interference with his own authority and ordered his re-instatement.<sup>11</sup> Drought's death mercifully solved the dilemma.

Meanwhile the inevitable feuding broke out between the Rural Dean and the Senior Chaplain.<sup>12</sup> Both of them complained to Arthur who seemed to favour Palmer<sup>13</sup> while Broughton appears to have preferred

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Cable, K.J. Article on "Broughton" in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, p.157.

<sup>9</sup>Shaw, G.P. Op.Cit. p.348

<sup>10</sup>Arthur to Broughton 12 May 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol.39 Tas. University Library.

<sup>11</sup>Broughton to Arthur 13 Oct.1834, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol.12, Tas. University Library.

<sup>12</sup>Shaw, G.O. Op.Cit. p.349

<sup>13</sup>Arthur to Broughton 12 May 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol.39, Tas. University Library.



Bedford.<sup>14</sup> The dispute became a cause célèbre and culminated in Palmer accusing Bedford of falsifying School Returns in order to conceal his negligence.<sup>15</sup>

Accounts of the Bedford-Palmer case may be found in M.C.I. Levy's Governor George Arthur<sup>16</sup> and in G.P. Shaw's work on Broughton<sup>17</sup>, but a brief review is relevant here for two reasons. First, some reason should be advanced for Bishop Broughton's concentration on this issue. Secondly, the story gives another dimension to the picture of Hutchins's difficulties as he sought to bring unity, purpose, and energy to the Church of England in Tasmania.

In 1823 William Bedford had arrived in Hobart to take the place of Robert Knopwood as Chaplain of St. David's and he had studied to make himself aware of the problems and needs of prisoners and the poor.<sup>18</sup> For thirty years he was incumbent in Hobart, and if the convicts called him "Holy Willie" - even that something of a compliment - he was not unsuccessful with them.<sup>19</sup> But he seems to have been one of those ministers who make a virtue of despising administrative

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<sup>14</sup>Shaw, G.P. Op.Cit. p.352.

<sup>15</sup>Broughton to Arthur 21, 28, 29 September 1836. Arthur Papers, Vol.12, Tas. University Library.

<sup>16</sup>Levy, M.C.I. Governor George Arthur (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1953) p.177f.

<sup>17</sup>Shaw, G.P. Op.Cit. p.348f.

<sup>18</sup>"Bedford" in A.D.B. Vol.I.p.78; Bedford, Ruth, Think of Stephen: A Family Chronicle (Melbourne, Angus & Robertson, 1954) p.25.

<sup>19</sup>Bedford, R. Op.Cit. p.30; Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson 21 June 1837; H.R.A. Series 3, Vol.V, pp.164, 153.

minutiae, an attitude which irked those authorities who had to govern by the book.<sup>20</sup> Between 1823 and 1833 Bedford not only provided Divine Service in Hobart; he travelled through the island establishing small Anglican congregations, looked after schools, and sat on the Legislative Council. Then Philip Palmer arrived, presumably to provide the administrative leadership that Bedford was unable or unwilling to give.<sup>21</sup> Suddenly the bluff worker-priest found himself supplanted by a Cambridge graduate with little practical knowledge and limited drive.<sup>22</sup> For a man of strong character and principles, with a deep sense of what was equitable, this was too much, and bitter rivalry was the result.<sup>23</sup> Doubtless the weak but willing Palmer suited Arthur the autocrat much better than the blunt and unco-operative Bedford; as opposition to Arthur and his faction intensified in the colony it was inevitable that Bedford would be associated with it.<sup>24</sup> As might have been foreseen Bedford would not submit to Palmer and Palmer tried unsuccessfully and a little deviously to discipline Bedford.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Scott to Arthur, 25 July, 1829, Arthur Papers, Vol.13.

<sup>21</sup> H.R.A. Series 3, Vol.V, pp.163,151.

<sup>22</sup> c.f. Broughton's letter in S.P.G. Annual Report 1838.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur to Broughton 4 February 1834. Arthur Papers, Vol.12.

<sup>24</sup> True Colonist, 15 July 1836, 5 August, 1836.

<sup>25</sup> Bedford to Palmer 25 October 1834. Arthur Papers, Vol.39; Broughton to Arthur 13 October 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol.12.

In May of 1834 Arthur wrote to Broughton with three specific complaints written in confidence perhaps in the hope that Broughton would use his authority to resolve the dispute and make the administration of the chaplaincies and the schools easier. He said that Bedford had made calumnious statements against Palmer; that the ill-management of his financial affairs was such as to lower him in public esteem; and that his word was not to be relied on.<sup>26</sup> Broughton regarded the allegations as so precise and serious that he rejected the claim of confidentiality and considered Bedford should have the opportunity of defending himself.<sup>27</sup> The "calumnious statements" referred to Palmer allowing a catechist to use his gown while performing a religious ceremony for which he was not qualified, and to his causing trouble between Bedford and two parish clerks, Smales and Household; they appear to have been trivial matters and so Broughton seems to have regarded them.<sup>28</sup> He rebuked Palmer and warned Arthur that enemies of the clergy might well carry tales in order to blacken a man's reputation.

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<sup>26</sup> Arthur to Broughton 12 May 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol.39.

<sup>27</sup> Broughton to Arthur 13 October 1834, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol.12; Broughton to Franklin 5 June 1838, C.O.280/95/128.

<sup>28</sup> Broughton to Palmer 25 November 1835. Arthur Papers, Vol.39.

Broughton, by bringing Arthur's complaints into the public view,<sup>29</sup> no doubt hoped to settle the dispute quickly by reaching the truth. He should have known the parties involved better than to entertain any such hope. Bedford vigorously protested his innocence and if Boyes is to be believed in the smallest degree, denounced both Palmer and Arthur.<sup>30</sup> The True Colonist made the case an opportunity to attack the Governor.<sup>31</sup> Arthur reacted strongly by seeking further evidence against Bedford that would support his earlier letter;<sup>32</sup> he tried to block the appointment of any new clergymen that Broughton might recommend;<sup>33</sup> and he wrote to the Colonial Office suggesting that Broughton was partisan and was in favour of Bedford being appointed to the Executive Council.<sup>34</sup> In December of 1835, ten months after Bedford had sought from the Governor the basis of his charges, Arthur sent for the Senior Chaplain, met him cordially and discussed with him the three imputations that had been communicated to Archdeacon Broughton.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Broughton to Arthur 13 October 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol.12

<sup>30</sup>Boyes, G.T.W.B. Diary. 5 November 1834, 27 April, 23 November, 1835.

<sup>31</sup>True Colonist. 15 July 1836, 5 August 1836.

<sup>32</sup>Norman to Arthur 16 April 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol.39; Bedford to Arthur, 9 September 1836, Bedford Papers, A.O.T. NP 65/3.

<sup>33</sup>Arthur to Stephen. 23 April 1835. Arthur Papers, Vol.4.

<sup>34</sup>Arthur to Hay. 30 September 1835. Arthur Papers, Vol.1.

<sup>35</sup>Bedford to Arthur. 9 September 1836, Bedford Papers A.O.T. NP 65/3.

During the interview, which lasted until one o'clock in the morning, they had tea together and Bedford took family prayers at the Governor's request. Bedford left with the clear impression that Arthur would give him a letter exonerating him from the three charges and with the instruction to call upon Gregory in the morning to that end. However, no letter was forthcoming, despite Broughton's views expressed in July and August of 1836, and despite the intervention of Bedford's sons.

Then at a critical moment in the course of affairs, Palmer accused Bedford of altering the School Returns to indicate that he was visiting the Parochial School when he was not, and presumably to conceal his laxity in the care of the school.<sup>36</sup> The Governor and the Executive Council did not proceed very far with the allegation, and in any event Bedford refused to attend what he thought of as a biassed and incompetent tribunal.<sup>37</sup> When Arthur told Bedford that he did not intend to proceed against him, Bedford naturally assumed that he had been exonerated.<sup>38</sup> The fact that Governor Arthur was generally disliked in the colony gave Bedford a measure of support he might not otherwise have enjoyed, whereas Palmer, the Rural Dean sitting on the Executive Council, and the Governor's friend, found himself more unpopular than he had reason to expect.

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<sup>36</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 28, 29 July, 24 August 1836; Broughton to Franklin 5 June, 1838. C.O. 280/95/126.

<sup>37</sup>Bedford to Arthur, 9 September 1836, Arthur Papers Vol.40.

<sup>38</sup>Arthur to Bedford, 7 October 1836, Arthur Papers Vol.40.



Despite any good work which individual chaplains might have been doing the Church lacked fellowship and unity.

The problems of the Church in Van Diemen's Land and its need of leadership were appreciated by some. The Annual Report of the S.P.C.K. of which Hutchins had been a member since 1824 noted the establishment of the new arch-deaconry and his appointment with satisfaction, believing that he would achieve something for the 'spiritual state both of colonists and convicts scattered throughout the island.'<sup>39</sup> The Society had been for two years exerting considerable pressure upon the Government and in 1835 addressed a memorial to the Government reminding them of their responsibilities.<sup>40</sup> The Society pointedly reminded the Government that 40,000 of the Australian population were prisoners convicted and transported from the mother country, thus relieving England of the burden of caring for them.<sup>41</sup> In the earlier part of the colony's progress considerable expense had been incurred by the home government but in the latter years nothing whatever had been done to provide for the colonists' spiritual wants. The convicts were left without the means of religious instruction or consolation. Nor were the free settlers any better off. In many districts they were unable to obtain the rites of their religion, the sacraments being administered at long intervals. As a result couples were living together with-

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<sup>39</sup> Annual Report S.P.C.K. 1836, p.51 S.P.C.K. Archives.

<sup>40</sup> Annual Report S.P.C.K. 1835, p.95.

<sup>41</sup> Annual Report S.P.C.K. 1835, p.96.



out the blessing of matrimony; children were dying unbaptized; often there was no Christian burial. It was not surprising that the people were developing a way of life that did not include religious practice; there was a decline of religion and a growth of vice. What the Society sought therefore was the building of churches with schools attached to them and the appointment of additional chaplains.

The Whig Government's immediate response had been to try to evade its responsibility.<sup>43</sup> While conceding that the provisions for religious instruction was inadequate and that measures should immediately be taken Lord Glenelg had claimed that appropriate arrangements could only be made by the Colonial administration. In pressing the issue on behalf of the Conservative opposition, Gladstone<sup>44</sup> attacked the liberal laissez-faire attitude and commented:

It is fearful to contemplate the growth of states such as those we are founding...in the King's Australian dominions, likely to reach such a height of physical well-being in conjunction with so great a degree of religious destitution.

Under pressure Glenelg agreed to the appointment of more chaplains on conditions of service which were to give rise to much misunderstanding and hardship. He also raised the status of the head of the Church in Van Diemen's Land

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<sup>42</sup>Annual Report S.P.C.K. 1836, p.51.

<sup>43</sup>Geo. Grey to the Secretary S.P.C.K., 2 December 1835. Appendix to Annual Report 1836, p.92.

<sup>44</sup>Annual Report 1836, S.P.C.K., p.52.

so that the incumbent would have greater legal power and more prestige. To this demanding task whose magnitude he could hardly have foreseen, Hutchins was called and as instructed he lost no time in getting ready. On the 4th March, 1836, he left Kirk Ireton and spent the next few days on the move, making the necessary arrangements for his journey abroad.<sup>45</sup> Hutchins made his headquarters Mancetter until he received news of a ship sailing to Australia; Mancetter was near his old home and his old school, and his brother Henry had a home there so no doubt this was the opportunity to say goodbye to family and friends. He then went down to London where he stayed in Arundel Street, the Strand, and used the time there to meet Sir John Franklin.<sup>46</sup> He soon discovered the complexities of colonial administration. Bishop Broughton had promised him a salary of five hundred pounds and a house. Franklin told him that he knew nothing of any such provision.

Hutchins was anxious to "guard as far as possible against any further misunderstanding or disappointment", and he wrote to Sir George Grey personally to ask him for clarification on this point. The implication of this letter is clearly that if Hutchins was not to receive what the Bishop had promised on behalf of the Government he would consider returning to his country parish. After a week's delay he received the assurance that he would be

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<sup>45</sup>Hutchins to Grey. 11 March 1836. CO 280/72/08043/10.

<sup>46</sup>Hutchins to Grey. 4 July 1836. CO 280/72/08043/29.

entitled to a house or to an annual allowance of £100.<sup>47</sup> Hutchins then returned to Kirk Ireton<sup>48</sup> to pack up finally and bid farewell to the people among whom he had worked for nearly twelve years. He was back in London in August in time to meet the Franklins again prior to departure.<sup>49</sup> He dined with them and with Captain Hindmarsh in Bedford Place. From a lonely supper in a parlour with a stone floor to a London dinner with two prospective Governors was quite a step. On the 26th August Hutchins boarded the "Fairlie" and the following day set sail for Australia with the Franklins.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Grey to Hutchins 15 July 1836. CO 280/72/08043/30. Note: Hutchins letter is undated but received by Grey on the 7th July; it was probably written about the 4th.

<sup>48</sup>Hutchins to Grey, 4th July 1836 approx.

<sup>49</sup>Lady Franklin to her father 12 October 1841. RS 16/7/1/20; c.f. Lady Franklin to Webster, 29 June 1836. MS Af V8 in ML.

<sup>50</sup>William Henty's Journal. Henty Papers. Tasmanian University Department of History Reports on Historical Manuscripts of Tasmania, Series II, No.2.

## CHAPTER 6

### HUTCHINS'S EARLY DAYS IN THE COLONY

While Hutchins was preparing for his journey and clarifying the terms of his appointment with Franklin and the Colonial Office,<sup>1</sup> Broughton was informing Governor Arthur about the institution of the new Archdeaconry in Van Diemen's Land<sup>2</sup> which was a development in the life of the Church which Arthur had wanted. Broughton hoped that Hutchins might arrive in the colony before Arthur left so that the former Governor could meet the man whom Broughton hoped would deal with the troubles that dogged the Tasmanian church. If the two were to meet, Arthur would be more able to speak for Hutchins in England and "effect some service for him". In the letter Broughton describes Hutchins as a man who would promote the views which Arthur held. Arthur wanted in the Church of England men "from the Evangelical party" for he felt strongly that they would promote the interests of religion in the colony ... he had at heart the extension of the Church and would go a l lengths in the conviction that some Establishment was necessary.<sup>3</sup> Assuming Broughton's friendship with Hutchins was what he claimed, there is in these comments of June 1836 a summary of Hutchins's policy. He would preach a

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<sup>1</sup> Grey to Hutchins 15 July 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/30.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Papers, Vol.12. Broughton to Arthur 13 June, 1836. Tas.Univ.Archives. Microfilm.

<sup>3</sup> Article on Arthur in Australian Dictionary of Biography. Shaw, A.G.L., Vol.I, p.32.

gospel of personal religion, would seek to extend the influence of the Church, and would support the notion of an Established Church; he would in other words be a faithful disciple of Charles Simeon.

In his reply Arthur rejoiced in the appointment and hoped that with his other good qualities Hutchins was an "attractive" preacher - "a revival of our church at Hobart is greatly needed and that without delay."<sup>4</sup> It was then no easy task Hutchins was sailing to take up. Writing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Broughton was greatly burdened. He was oppressed almost beyond endurance by the variety of duties and extent of difficulties with which he had to contend.<sup>5</sup> Hutchins's own difficulties lay ahead; for the moment he could enjoy life aboard the "Fairlie".<sup>6</sup> He was awakened at six by the sailors working and had plenty of time for Bible Study and Prayer before sitting down to breakfast with the thirty two other adult passengers.<sup>7</sup>

William Henty was a young man whose family were already successful settlers in Launceston. Later he

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<sup>4</sup>A.P., Vol. 12, Arthur to Broughton, 28 June 1836. Tas. Univ. Archives.

<sup>5</sup>Broughton to S.P.G. 14 Oct. 1836. S.P.G. Annual Report 1837, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup>William Henty's Journal in Op. Cit. and Lady Franklin's Journal cited in F.J. Woodward Portrait of Jane, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951) pp. 198f. give a picture of shipboard life.

<sup>7</sup>Henty, Op. Cit. 27, 28 August, 1836.

was to become a leading churchman and citizen in Van Diemen's Land. On the second day out Hutchins took wine with Henty and after dinner discussed the colony with him. The Henty family had wide experience in Australia and had been based in Launceston since 1831, so doubtless the conversation was interesting and fruitful.<sup>8</sup> Henty liked his fellow passenger very much and found that "his conversation is improving."<sup>9</sup>

Any sea trip in the first part of the 19th century would be as exciting at times as it was boring at times. This trip was no exception. Lady Franklin recorded that there was a death, a man overboard, a three day storm in which nobody could stand, and a frightening experience with a whaler that nearly rammed them at night.<sup>10</sup> There were cockroaches as big as mice,<sup>11</sup> pilot fish and sharks to be watched or caught, and squid to be dissected.<sup>12</sup> There must have been evenings when Hutchins did not feel much like taking prayers for the company, which was customary after dinner at seven. Sometimes there were dancing, quadrilles and waltzes and gaieties; and there was music on the Franklin piano.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Bassett, M., Article on Henty, A.D.B. Vol.I. p.531.

<sup>9</sup>Henty, Op.Cit. 28 August, 1836.

<sup>10</sup>Woodward, F.J. Portrait of Jane, Op.Cit. pp.198,199.

<sup>11</sup>Henty, Op.Cit. 29 August, 1836.

<sup>12</sup>Henty, Op.Cit. 14 September 1836. Woodward, Op.Cit. p.200.

<sup>13</sup>Henty, Op.Cit. 2,28 September 1836.



Sir John, as Hutchins found, was an evangelical churchman of an austere, puritanical kind, a little softened toward tolerance by the death of his first wife.<sup>14</sup> The two were close to being kindred spirits. Franklin's beliefs would not allow theatricals or celebrations at "crossing the line"<sup>15</sup> but there were lectures, especially from Captain Alexander Maconochie, the Governor's private secretary. His lectures on the Natural History of Man were somewhat radical and Jane thought the lectures upset the Archdeacon, whom she suspected was "a little scandalized" to hear of humans once having tails. The third lecture from Maconochie appears to have delved too far into the mysteries of the human body for "the Archdeacon would not give his sanction to any more physical curiosities by his presence and as soon as he heard there was going to be a lecture retired to his cabin".<sup>16</sup>

The voyage was broken by a stay of three weeks at Cape Town in November and Hutchins took the opportunity to write to Sir George Grey about some of his financial arrangements.<sup>17</sup> The passengers climbed Table Mountain and enjoyed the view of the town. Jane also enjoyed the sight of the Archdeacon

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<sup>14</sup>Fitzpatrick, K. Sir John Franklin in Tasmania, (Melbourne M.U.P. 1949) pp.33,36.

<sup>15</sup>Woodward. Op.Cit. p.199.

<sup>16</sup>Woodward. Op.Cit. p.200.

<sup>17</sup>Hutchins to Grey, 22 Nov.1836, C.O. 280/72/08043/40; c.f. James Stephen's note on Hutchins's letter; Glenelg to Franklin, 6 Feb.1837. C.O.280/72/08043/41.

"skudding lightly down the steep, with an umbrella in one hand and a bundle of white chrysanthemums in the other."<sup>18</sup>

After a stormy passage of five weeks and two days from the Cape, Hutchins arrived in the port of Hobart Town, pleased probably to have reached his journey's end after a four month trip in a crowded ship of 755 tons.<sup>19</sup> Members of the Executive Council came on board to greet the new Governor and his party when the "Fairlie" tied up at New Wharf.<sup>20</sup> There were gun salutes and the 21st Regiment provided a guard of honour; the place looked beautiful and everybody seemed in high spirits.<sup>21</sup>

The Archdeacon probably spent the first few days in Van Diemen's Land in the rambling Government House in MacQuarie Street.<sup>22</sup> On Sunday the 8th January he preached his first sermon in the new Archdeaconry in St. David's Church just across from Government House.<sup>23</sup> The Lieutenant Governor, his family, the officers of the colony, and a large congregation attended this historic service; in fact many people had to be turned away. It was very hot and the stuffy, crowded conditions took

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<sup>18</sup>Woodward. Op.Cit. p.202.

<sup>19</sup>Launceston Advertiser, 12 January, 1837.

<sup>20</sup>Woodward, Op.Cit. p.202; Hobart Town Courier, 13 January, 1837.

<sup>21</sup>Woodward, Op.Cit. p.202.

<sup>22</sup>Fitzpatrick, Op.Cit. p.116.

<sup>23</sup>Tasmanian and Review, 13 January, 1837.

their toll. Hutchins did not find the church building very satisfactory acoustically and there were some in the congregation who could not always hear him, the pulpit apparently not being sufficiently elevated. He preached on some verses from the Letter of Jude and since he must have given this sermon very careful thought the choice is significant.

My friends, keep on building yourselves up on your most sacred faith. Pray in the power of the Holy Spirit, and keep yourselves in the love of God, as you wait for our Lord Jesus Christ in his mercy to give you eternal life.

He strongly urged his hearers to adhere to the injunctions of the text and spoke in "practical" terms. He gave the impression of being a "plain and gentlemanly" man, reading correctly but without affectation. He spoke without cant and avoided any "appearance of hypocritical parade."<sup>24</sup> He showed good sense by avoiding any reference to the fact that he had recently arrived in Van Diemen's Land, and behaved as though he was taking a service in the ordinary exercise of his duty, going at once in medias res. Hutchins had made a very good start, for the Press for the most part was not sympathetic to the Church of England, especially as typified by Bishop Broughton.<sup>25</sup> Even at this early

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<sup>24</sup>Tasmanian and Review, 13 January, 1837.

<sup>25</sup>Tasmanian and Review, 6 Jan. 1837; True Colonist 3 February 1837; Cornwall Chronicle 25 February, 1837.

stage Hutchins was advised to acquaint himself of the "true condition of the Church" in the colony and in the next twelve months he was to receive a good deal of "assistance" from the press in planning the future development of the Church.<sup>26</sup>

On Monday the 9th of January there was a day of celebration; the streets were "one continued scene of bustle";<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Street leading up from Government House was literally thronged with people and there was a general air of pleasure and satisfaction. Every house in Elizabeth Street and Campbell Street was illuminated, and many houses were decorated with the initials of John Franklin, with anchors and with crowns. There were fireworks from sunset to midnight and the red paper of the chinese crackers covered the streets on Tuesday morning. In these first few days Hutchins met the Rural Dean, Philip Palmer, a member of the Executive Council,<sup>28</sup> and the chaplain of St. David's, William Bedford;<sup>29</sup> no doubt he heard from them their versions of the problems facing the Church. Apart from the friction between these two clergymen which was to concern Hutchins later in the year there were the simple problems facing all clergymen in this penal outpost.

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<sup>26</sup>Tasmanian and Review, 13, 27 Jan., 3 Feb., 10, 24 March 1837.

<sup>27</sup>Bent's News, 14 January 1837.

<sup>28</sup>Woodward, Op.Cit. p.204.

<sup>29</sup>Tasmanian and Review, 13 January 1837.

James Ross, the editor of the Hobart Town Courier enumerated them:<sup>30</sup>

The duty of a pastor in Hobart Town is indeed most arduous. He is placed as it were in the very gorge of sin, in the midst of the general receptacle for the worst characters in the world, and of necessity compelled to take the bull by the horns, to grapple at the very gates of hell if he would rescue a soul from the headlong ruin to which he is hurrying... even the commonest holiday, the least cause for rejoicing that occurs throughout the year is invariably attended with the most humiliating scenes of drunkenness.

On the 11th of January there was a Levee at Government House<sup>31</sup> which gave Hutchins a chance of meeting other Tasmanian citizens. Among these was Robert Knopwood<sup>32</sup> from whom the Archdeacon could have heard the story of the Church in Van Diemen's Land from February 1804 when Knopwood took his first service in Hobart,<sup>33</sup> even if at seventy four he was not as sprightly as he

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<sup>30</sup>Bowden and Crawford. The History of Trinity. (Hobart: Mercury Press, 1933) p.5.

<sup>31</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 7 January, 1837.

<sup>32</sup>R.R. Knopwood Diary, 1803-1838. Ed. Mary Nicholls, (Hobart: T.H.R.A. 1977 Entry for 11 January, 1837. p.659.

<sup>33</sup>Monks, L., "R. Knopwood" in A.D.B. Vol. II, p.66.

once was.

One of the chaplains who had travelled out with Hutchins had clearly not been idle on the voyage. As early as the 20th of January Mayers had an advertisement in the Hobart Town Courier for a new monthly paper to be called the Guardian.<sup>34</sup> Such a publication was considered necessary because in the "modern desire for knowledge" the Bible and Faith tended to be overlooked; it was essential to avoid "an intellectual and godless nation". The first edition of the Guardian must have been planned on the "Fairlie" and must have had the Archdeacon's approval; the colony therefore could look forward to the paper's appearance to find out what the new leadership might mean.

Already the Letters Patent appointing Hutchins to the new Archdeaconry were exciting criticism.<sup>35</sup> While anxious to suggest that the charter "effects nothing", has "more sound than substance" and in places is "a little laughable",<sup>36</sup> the hostile press still took space to declare its resentment. It saw the Letters Patent as "pregnant with threatenings".<sup>37</sup> The appointment of the Archdeacon as the Bishop's Commissary was seen as a portent of the Establishment in Van Diemen's Land of an Ecclesiastical Court, the idea of which was

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<sup>34</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 20 January, 1837.

<sup>35</sup>Tasmanian and Review, 27 January, 1837.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Tasmanian 27 January 1837.

Note:- The Letters Patent appointing Hutchins Archdeacon of Van Diemen's Land are held in the Tasmanian Archives, Hobart.



not at all acceptable to those who were not members of the Church of England and indeed to a few who did claim membership. The fact was that Hutchins had been appointed to the legal position of Archdeacon by the Crown; no other church leader had that privilege. He was appointed "by the Ecclesiastical laws of our Realm of England"<sup>38</sup> which was important in the light of Hutchins's claim later on that the law which applied to the Church in England should apply to the Church in Van Diemen's Land. He was appointed a "commissary" which gave him a legal jurisdiction over the membership of the Church of England as well as the right to appoint a registrar, which he later did.<sup>39</sup> Thus it was soon apparent that Hutchins had come armed with considerable authority and determined to carry out the task he had been given. It is not surprising that the issue of Church Establishment should be at this time a widely debated issue.<sup>40</sup> It was not long before Hutchins realised that the relationship of the Church of England in Van Diemen's Land to the Government was going to be a crucial issue.

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<sup>38</sup>c.f. Letters Patent.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid. and Hobart Town Gazette June 1938.

<sup>40</sup>Tasmanian 6, 13, 27 January, 3 February, 10 March, 24 March, 5 May, 19 May, 26 May, 16, 23, 30 June 1837. c.f. also Bent's News 23 September, 4 November 1837; Launceston Advertiser 20 April, 29 June, 3 August; Hobart Town Courier 24 February, 7 April, 26 May, 2, 9 June 1837; True Colonist 21 April, 5 May, 26 May, 23 June 1837.

On the 26th January Hutchins received his first assignment outside the immediate parameters of his church responsibilities. He was made Chairman of a Committee of Investigation into the King's Orphan Schools.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile he was thinking about where to live, and seems quite early to have considered Battery Point as a suitable place.<sup>42</sup> At the beginning of February he was preparing to go to Launceston following the Governor, who had set out on a tour of the colony. Till then he seems to have assisted Bedford at St. David's.<sup>43</sup> On the 3rd of February he took a boat across the river and visited Richmond on the way North. He would there have seen the Reverend Mr. Aislabie, who was engaged in a lawsuit with Rhodes, a timber merchant, after a regrettable incident with a postdated cheque.<sup>44</sup> The True Colonist thought Aislabie was a rogue, and was highly suspicious of Hutchins's purposes. His plans for the Church had

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<sup>41</sup> Hobart Town Gazette 26 January 1837;

Note:- The conclusions of Hutchins's Committee of Enquiry were that:

1. The existing committee of management was not required save in the role of visitors.
  2. Naylor should be made Headmaster with administrative control.
  3. Help should be sought from the National Schools Society.
  4. A Purveyor should be appointed who should be responsible to the Headmaster.
  5. There was no longer any need for a Female Superintendent.
  6. The list of visitors should be considerably extended.
- A.O.T. E/C 4/5. pp.86-91. 24 Aug. 1837.

<sup>42</sup> Knopwood Diary 3 February 1837, p.660.

<sup>43</sup> Tasmanian 27 January 1837.

<sup>44</sup> True Colonist 3 February 1837.

already been interpreted as expansionist and divisive, and his immediate appointment of Mayers to Hamilton and Bothwell was regarded as an attack on the Presbyterians. The Tasmanian welcomed the claims of the Presbyterians within the colony because it was argued that their demands upon the Government would weaken the Establishment of the Church of England, and with that the forces of reaction and oppression. If both churches were "established" both would eventually lose the privilege of that establishment and would have to operate on the voluntary principle.<sup>45</sup> The Morning Chronicle was quoted as making the comment that the Establishment in England was falling.<sup>46</sup>

The Archdeacon arrived in Launceston on February 1st and the next day met Dr. Browne, the Chaplain there. On the 3rd, Hutchins dined with the Brownes and a number of leading citizens, and over the following two days visited the school and other public institutions, including the Sunday schools, the Penitentiary, and the Female Factory. He also preached at St. John's on Sunday the 5th of February at a special service before Lieutenant Governor Franklin, his family and his suite.<sup>47</sup> At a second service Hutchins preached a sermon in aid of the

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<sup>45</sup>Tasmanian. 3 February 1837.

<sup>46</sup>Morning Chronicle. 30 September 1836.

<sup>47</sup>Launceston Advertiser. 10 February 1837;  
W.H. Browne Diary, 1,2,3,4, May 1837.

Launceston Benevolent Society.<sup>48</sup> The North Gallery of the church was fitted up especially for this occasion. Hutchins intended to remain in Launceston for a while looking after St. John's Church while the incumbent Dr. Browne went on sick leave.<sup>49</sup> However he had to return to Hobart for the Executive Council Meetings and his other duties so the Reverend Mr. Freeman took over from him.<sup>50</sup>

Hutchins soon discovered that he was going to be held responsible for everything done by members of his church, and on their actions the worst construction would be placed by a largely anti-establishment press. He found himself accused of allowing children attending the Church of England schools to go at stated times to the Government garden in order to eat the fruit, on condition that they attended church on Sunday.<sup>51</sup> Parents of dissenting children allegedly had complained of this discrimination and were going to complain to the Governor. The True Colonist ironically suggested that this was a good way of making converts to the Church of England. It is impossible to surmise on what incident

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<sup>48</sup>Cornwall Chronicle. 4 February 1837; of also W.H.Browne, Diary, 5 February 1837.

<sup>49</sup>Bent's News. 4 February 1837.

<sup>50</sup>Launceston Advertiser. 23 February 1837.  
Executive Council Minutes 6 March 1837.  
Archdeacon's Letter Book. N.S. 373/75 17 March, 1837.

<sup>51</sup>True Colonist 17 February 1837.

this attack was based; it is likely that the school-master of Trinity Parish may have punished one or more of his pupils by a detention. Given the information that the original story was untrue the newspaper made its detraction as offensive and as provocative as the account which had proved to be false.<sup>52</sup>

While the Reverend Mr. Mayers was being criticized for saying that the Church of England was the only true Christian church, Captain Maconochie was charged with being a "Lord Turntipper" for attending the church of St. David with the Governor.<sup>53</sup> The Tasmanian reminded its readers that the alliance of Church and State was founded on the principle of mutual advantage.<sup>54</sup> In the past the Established Church had received the favour and protection of the Civil Government in return for encouraging the laity in the virtue of obedience thus "perverting religion to a political purpose". Any alliance between Church and State was said to be contrary to Scripture.<sup>55</sup> It was the nonconformist system which was most clearly in conformity with Biblical example. Thus the more radical press opposed any sort of link between Church and State.

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<sup>52</sup>True Colonist 24 February 1837.

<sup>53</sup>True Colonist 24 February 1837.

<sup>54</sup>Tasmanian 10 March 1837.

<sup>55</sup>Tasmanian 24 March 1837.

The vociferous Presbyterian writers promoted the "establishment" of the Presbyterian Church as it existed in Scotland.<sup>56</sup> For it was appreciated that the support by the Government of more than one church would alter the nature of the establishment and the Church of England would not continue to enjoy the same privileges in Van Diemen's Land as it enjoyed in England. The Cornwall Chronicle warming to the attack carried a cartoon of a fat parson asleep in wig and bands, dreaming of wine, money, and mammon.<sup>57</sup> Of course the debate on Establishment was not new but the fact that it raged so heatedly at this time suggests two things. First, the royal appointment of an Archdeacon was seen as strengthening the position of the Church of England and implying a special position for it in the colony.<sup>58</sup> Secondly the debate was a compliment to the new Archdeacon himself. It is extremely doubtful whether Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Independents, Erastians or Roman Catholics saw in Bedford or Palmer any barrier to the growth of their influence. Hutchins was a different proposition.

Early in March he took his place in the Executive Council, opened an office in Hobart, and settled down to the task of restoring order and a sense of purpose to his church.<sup>59</sup> He had to grapple with

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<sup>56</sup>True Colonist 21 April 1837.

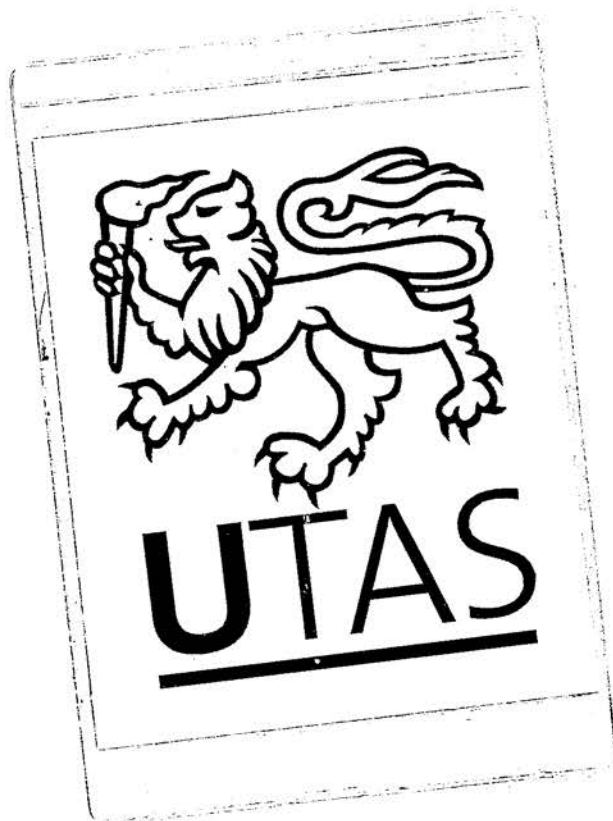
<sup>57</sup>Cornwall Chronicle 25 February 1837.

<sup>58</sup>c.f. True Colonist 5 May 1837.

<sup>59</sup>Executive Council Minutes 6 March 1837. Archdeacon's Letter Book. Passim.



inefficiency, pettiness, sectional hostility, and a government, more interested in appeasement than moral leadership, governing a people who were sliding rapidly into materialism; he settled to his task with vigour, common sense, and good humour: though the magnitude of the work severely taxed his physical resources.



## CHAPTER 7

### EDUCATING THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE

With commendable speed and efficiency Hutchins settled down to the supervision of the chaplaincies and the schools. He quickly discovered that petty squabbles appeared great in a colony deprived of outside news, and dealing with them was tedious and time consuming.

For example, Hutchins very early encountered Presbyterian hostility when he sent Mayers to Bothwell. He maintained, contrary to their protestations, that the Bothwell church had been built by order of Governor Arthur on the express understanding with Presbyterians in the district that the building was to be given up entirely as soon as an Anglican minister was appointed to the area. In the meantime the church was to be made available to Anglicans when they wished to hold a service. In fact if anyone needed permission to use the building it was the Presbyterian minister rather than the Anglican. Hutchins based his claims on records in the office of the Colonial Secretary which stated clearly the legal position regarding tenure of the building, and he was anxious that the adverse reaction to Mayers's appointment should not obscure the rights of the Church of England to ownership. Hutchins had no wish to interfere in any way with the work of the Presbyterian minister but he wanted widely known that when Mayers or any other Anglican minister took services in Bothwell they performed them by right not of sufferance. Winter conditions might make it difficult to hold services

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<sup>1</sup>True Colonist, 17 February 1837, 3 February 1837.

<sup>2</sup>Hutchins to Schaw and Harland, 16 May 1837.  
Letter Book, p.20.

more than once a month, but he looked forward to a regular weekly service or better "as soon as it is in my power". Separate registers could be kept for each denomination. Slackness in such matters led Hutchins to ask for the resignation of the Schoolmaster and Parish Clerk at Bothwell, Mr. Quick.<sup>3</sup> He was just at the start of a long and sometimes bitter dispute.

Another affair which occupied his attention at this time seems minor, but was typical of the issues which called for his patience, understanding and good judgement. He found that in the strange rather artificial community to which he had come such matters loomed large; trivial disputes easily became sources of major divisions. This was not the only occasion when the Reverend Mr. Bedford had an argument with his organist.<sup>4</sup> There was general criticism of the quality of music offering at St. David's Church, and the suggestion was made that the poor music was due to the interference of the Reverend William Bedford with the organist, Mrs. Logan. The problem seemed to be that the music consisted solely of organ playing aided by Mr. and Mrs. Logan's vocal assistance.<sup>5</sup> Bedford's request that the organist employ "half a dozen respectable females" and some "orphan children" to form a choir was rejected. There was almost no chanting of the canticles and the hymns played were considered quite inappropriate.<sup>6</sup> It seemed that the Easter services in the premier church of Van Diemen's Land would be very uninspiring.

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<sup>3</sup>Hutchins to Quick, 17 March 1837, L.B. p.1.  
Hutchins to Mayers, 18 May 1837, L.B. p.21.

<sup>4</sup>W. Gore Elliston, Diary, 5 September 1852.

<sup>5</sup>Tasmanian, 24 March 1837.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. and Tasmanian, 31 March 1837.

Perhaps because Easter had not been celebrated with the best of musical accompaniment to the Liturgy, Bedford appealed to the Archdeacon.<sup>7</sup> He had already sent to the Archdeacon copies of the correspondence between himself and Mrs. Logan and Hutchins had not intervened. Bedford now thought it was imperative to "prevent further irregularities and interruptions" in the services.<sup>8</sup> Hutchins at once asked Mrs. Logan to comply with Bedford's requests<sup>9</sup> and he may have remembered with amusement Butler's frustrating experience with a wayward choir in the Archdeaconry of Derby.<sup>10</sup> Certainly Hutchins knew the importance of music in Divine Service<sup>11</sup> and he requested Mrs. Logan to consider the congregation, but she had been offended and would not easily be placated. The Archdeacon had to write again explaining that it was customary for an organist to help the singers rather than hinder them<sup>12</sup> and that it was not unreasonable for her to find a substitute if absent through sickness.<sup>13</sup> Still recalcitrant she caused disturbances during services<sup>14</sup> and Hutchins repeated his request for her co-operation in more succinct terms.<sup>15</sup> After a month's abortive negotiations he had to warn her that she might have to be replaced, and Mrs. Logan capitulated.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Bedford to Hutchins, 2 May 1837. L.B. p.11.

<sup>8</sup> Bedford to Hutchins, 2 May 1837. L.B. p.11.

<sup>9</sup> Hutchins to Mrs. Logan, 2 May 1837. L.B. p.11.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Butler, Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, Vol. II, p.46.

<sup>11</sup> c.f. The Derby Mercury, 12 April, 1826.

<sup>12</sup> Hutchins to Mrs. Logan, 5 May 1837. L.B. p.15.

<sup>13</sup> Hutchins to Mrs. Logan, 5 May 1837. L.B. p.15.

<sup>14</sup> Hutchins to Mrs. Logan, 18 May 1837. L.B. pp. 21,22.

<sup>15</sup> Hutchins to Mrs. Logan, 26 May 1837. L.B. p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Hutchins to Mrs. Logan, 30 May 1837. L.B. p. 34.

In these first five months the Archdeacon visited the districts where he had clergymen<sup>17</sup> and quickly became acquainted with the complexities of his charge and with the trivial issues that preoccupied many people. His correspondence for this period demonstrates the wide range of duties he had to perform. As well as looking after the chaplains he supervised the work of the catechists and saw to their remuneration.<sup>18</sup> He was very much involved in the management of the schools<sup>19</sup> and insisted that school returns were made promptly and accurately. He scrupulously observed the regulation that schools would only be financed by the government if the child population justified it. He dealt sympathetically with teachers who might be displaced by a movement of population. He found out whether schoolmasters were doing their work satisfactorily. He also checked the school estimates. He appointed the Reverend Mr. Freeman to Morven and arranged his salary and accommodation and

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<sup>17</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 15 April 1837;  
W.H.Browne, Diary 10-17 April 1837.

<sup>18</sup>Hutchins to McGillivray, 17 March 1837. L.B.p.1.  
Hutchins to Pike, 28 April 1837, p.9.

<sup>19</sup>c.f. e.g. Hutchins to Quick, 17 March 1837., L.B.p.1.  
to the Chaplains, 7 April 1837, p.3. Hutchins to  
Colonial Engineer, 11 April 1837, p.4; Hutchins to Anstice,  
27 April, p.7, 2 May 1837, p.10; Hutchins to Barker,  
28 April 1837, p.7; Hutchins to Biggs 16 May 1837, p.18;  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 16 May 1837, p.19;  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 18 May 1837, p.23;  
Hutchins to Broughton 18 May 1837, p.23;  
Hutchins to Nihill, 26 May 1837, p.31;  
Hutchins to Jennings, 30 May 1837, p.32;  
Hutchins to Giblin, 27 May, 1837, p.32;  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 30 May 1837, p.33.

expenses.<sup>20</sup> He arranged the import, storage, and distribution of Bibles and Prayer Books.<sup>21</sup> He wrote to his clergy on a number of topics: to Dr. Browne in Launceston on road parties, on the possibility of a second church in Launceston, and on the purchase of books for the Sunday School;<sup>22</sup> to Davies at Longford on employing a convict as sexton at Evandale, on his clerk's salary, on the legality of his marrying Walker and Cole;<sup>23</sup> to Mayers of Hamilton about the Bothwell school, about a new school at Hollow Tree, about the appointment of a new schoolmaster at Hamilton;<sup>24</sup> to Mr. Bedford Junior on fencing the burial ground, and on the funeral of Major Gray's mother;<sup>25</sup> to Bedford Senior on Mrs. Logan;<sup>26</sup> to Garrard about using a convict to perform the duties of sexton at New Norfolk;<sup>27</sup> to Aislabie and Norman on the need to make their reports more explicit, and to be careful in the allocation of salaries.<sup>28</sup> In April he asked all his chaplains to prepare estimates for 1838 and to exercise care in their preparation, and a little later was asking

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<sup>20</sup>Hutchins to Freeman, 17 March 1837. L.B., p.1;  
& 23 May 1837, p.25.

<sup>21</sup>Hutchins to Dowling, 17 March 1837, L.B. p.2;  
Hutchins to Brownell, 28 April 1837, p.12.  
Hutchins to Dowling, 21 March 1837, p.2.  
Hutchins to Dowling, 18 May 1837, p.9.

<sup>22</sup>Hutchins to Browne, 27 March 1837, L.B. p.2; 5 May, '37 p.13.

<sup>23</sup>Hutchins to Davies, 26 April 1837, L.B. p.6;  
2 May 1837, p.9; 26 May 1837, p.29.

<sup>24</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 28 April 1837, p.8; 16 May  
1837, p.18; 19 May 1837, p.24.

<sup>25</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 5 May 1837, p.14; 8 May  
1837, p.16.

<sup>26</sup>Hutchins to Bedford, 6 May 1837, p.16.

<sup>27</sup>Hutchins to Garrard, 30 May 1837, p.13.

<sup>28</sup>Hutchins to Clergy, 14 April 1837, 21 April pp.4, 5.



for details of the pew rents which might be expected in 1838.<sup>29</sup> He found the clergy dilatory and had to remind some of them on more than one occasion to respond to his requests.<sup>30</sup> It appears that he had to train them in the most elementary matters of administration; their slowness and their carelessness must have been a great trial to Hutchins who wanted to make the church and the schools truly National in the Butler sense. Aislabie especially appears to have been either slack or much distracted.<sup>31</sup> He also had problems with Palmer who felt slighted by the turn of events, and who seemed likely to lose his Rural Dean's allowance.<sup>32</sup>

He dealt with the legal intricacies of leases.<sup>33</sup> He also advised on canon law and when one might depart from it.<sup>34</sup> He encouraged men like Whiteford who was Police Magistrate at Oatlands to subscribe to a new church in that town, and he was active in the promotion of this project.<sup>35</sup> At Brighton too, he was busy advising Mr. Roper on the steps that were necessary if the government were to grant financial assistance for the building

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<sup>29</sup>Hutchins to Clergy, 7 April 1837, L.B. p.3;  
25 April 1837, p.6.

<sup>30</sup>Hutchins to Montagu, 25 April 1837, p.6,  
Hutchins to Bedford, 4 May 1837, p.12,  
to Morris, 10 May 1837, p.17,  
to Naylor, 16 May 1837, p.19,  
to Norman and Davies, 23 May 1837, p.25,  
to Naylor, 26 May 1837, p.31.

<sup>31</sup>Archdeacon's Office to Aislabie, 19 May 1837, L.B.  
p.23.

<sup>32</sup>Hutchins to Palmer, 5 May 1837, L.B. p.14.  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 19 May 1837,  
L.B. p.24.

<sup>33</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 2 May 1837, L.B. p.10.

<sup>34</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 8 May 1837, L.B. p.16.

<sup>35</sup>Hutchins to Whiteford, 16 May 1837, L.B. p.17.

of a church.<sup>36</sup> He was also called upon to advise on the construction of a church porch at Georgetown.<sup>37</sup> He was involved in the appointment of gravediggers.<sup>38</sup> He took a personal interest in the entry of orphans to the King's School at New Town.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Hutchins was an active chairman of the Committee of Investigation into the King's Orphan Schools.<sup>40</sup> He also sent round a circular to his clergy trying to discover what the surplice fees were for clergy, clerks, and sextons.<sup>41</sup> He discovered that funds for the building of Trinity Church were held by Palmer, and he wrote to him requesting that the money be invested in the Derwent Bank at five percent.<sup>42</sup> He took a personal interest in the appointment of churchwardens and saw that their names were duly published.<sup>43</sup>

What is remarkable in all this is how quickly Hutchins established himself as a knowledgeable, understanding leader who himself set an example of industry and efficiency as well as spirituality, and demanded the same standards from his clergy. In the five month period

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- <sup>36</sup>Hutchins to Whiteford, 16 May 1837. L.B. p.17.  
<sup>37</sup>Hutchins to Roper, 23 May 1837. L.B.p.26.  
 30 May 1837. L.B. p.34.  
<sup>38</sup>Hutchins to Friend 26 May 1837. L.B. p.30.  
<sup>39</sup>Hutchins to Auditor 26 May 1837. L.B. p.31;  
 Hutchins to Solomon 23 May 1837. L.B. p.27;  
 Hutchins to Hone 24 May 1837. L.B.p.29;  
 Hutchins to Walker 26 May 1837. L.B. p.30.  
<sup>40</sup>Hutchins to the Committee 23 May 1837. L.B. p.25.  
 20 May 1837. L.B. p.24.  
<sup>41</sup>Hutchins to Clergy 23 May 1837. L.B. p.26.  
<sup>42</sup>Hutchins to Palmer 17 March 1837. Calder  
 Papers, Latrobe Library.  
<sup>43</sup>The Cornwall Chronicle 22 April, 1837.

he made two visitations and checked for himself what the local problems were.<sup>44</sup>

In March the first edition of a new Anglican journal, The Guardian, appeared to general acclaim.<sup>45</sup> The evangelical doctrines of repentance and personal salvation were examined but also the journal stressed the power of the Scriptures to influence the general community; although individual faith was important, nominal Christianity also had a vital role to play in society. The reviewer of The Chronicle understood the significance of this affirmation and quoted:

Christianity is in fact so interwoven with the whole constitution and framework of society, and its benignant influence on all the customs and institutions of a land in which it is received, even nominally, is so familiarized to our constant experience and observation that perception seems to be lost of what Christianity - and Christianity alone - has actually wrought for the moralising and softening down of all that is degraded and rugged in the nature of man <sup>46</sup>

In the second issue of the Guardian there was a discussion of death and the soul's immortality, a pertinent and poignant article in a penal colony; the character of the Evangelical Revival chosen for study was the loyal Anglican, Whitfield.

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<sup>44</sup>Hutchins to Whitefoord, 16 May 1837.  
Ex Council Minutes, 15 April 1837.

<sup>45</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 3 March 1837.

<sup>46</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 8 April 1837. Italics are mine.

<sup>47</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 28 April 1837.

In the May edition there were moral exhortations on drunkenness and hope which also were well received.<sup>48</sup>

In the five month period at present under review Hutchins was making his views known in a number of different ways; not least he was making clear what an Established Church could contribute to the society in which it operated.

However there were plenty of rough passages even in this "honeymoon" period. Being away on Visitation, Hutchins did not attend a meeting of the Bible Society in Hobart, and was pilloried for his absence.<sup>49</sup> The pews of St. David's were oiled and the dresses of the ladies with the best coats of the gentlemen, were ruined; there was talk of suing.<sup>50</sup> The building of the church at Campbelltown was said to be held up by the slackness of the parson there and his preoccupation with his own residence.<sup>51</sup> Referring again to this same parson a correspondent stated that the Colony wanted "conciliators, not backbiters nor quarrelling blusterers".<sup>52</sup> Reading the newspapers Hutchins could not but agree. On the 5<sup>th</sup> May he could have read that Philip Palmer was "the most popular, perhaps the only one, of the Church of England ministers here".<sup>53</sup> At St. David's not only was the organist underpaid but also the sexton and pew opener meanly treated by the Senior Chaplain.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 5 May 1837.

<sup>49</sup>Tasmanian, 7 April 1837.

<sup>50</sup>Tasmanian, 14 April 1837.

<sup>51</sup>Tasmanian, 28 April 1837.

<sup>52</sup>Tasmanian, 12 May 1837.

<sup>53</sup>Tasmanian, 5 May 1837.

<sup>54</sup>Tasmanian, 19 May 1837.

The Archdeacon had already discovered for himself that his clergy were not on the whole an excellent advertisement for the church, and he laboured to help them become more attentive and more effective. The constant lampooning and rumour-mongering must have pained him. Then suddenly without explanation one of the hostile newspapers published an article which was friendly, expressing the very opinions he held and wanted others to hold.<sup>55</sup> It was a great public convenience, said the Cornwall Chronicle, independent of the question of religious instruction, to have in a nation a body of people like the clergy - "safe men on the whole to trust", intelligent, pledged to good behaviour, known to the district, at hand because they resided, "universal in their presence from the parochial divisions". It was just this concept of parochial responsibility which Hutchins kept constantly in mind, with each district being served by a church - he built seventeen - and by a priest living on the spot in a parsonage.

An important part of the Archdeacon's duties was his supervision of the schools and his conscientiousness in this aspect of his work has already been noted. The Courier reminded him what was the function of a teacher.<sup>56</sup> It was to "form and purify the taste, to refine the judgement, to elevate the mind, and to counteract mental sordidness and impotence". That is a description which would be challenging in the 20th Century. It was an

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<sup>55</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 10 June 1837.

<sup>56</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 10 March 1837.

acceptable ideal in Hutchins's time although the availability of teachers like the availability of clergy was very limited. The article also made the perceptive comment which innovators could usefully heed, "the efficiency of every mode of instruction depends upon the teacher." But the ideal seemed far away in 1837, for in Van Diemen's Land the profession of teacher had degenerated into a last resort for every ruined tradesman or unfortunate gentleman, no matter what his qualifications were.<sup>57</sup> Hutchins was already doing his best to improve this situation.

The controversy about the role of the Church of England in society at large continued. Towards the end of May, that is to say towards the end of this opening period of five months, the Courier stressed that the Establishment debate still waxed hot in England.<sup>58</sup> The paper posed the question that if the participation of the church in the Civil Government at home were a question of policy, would it not be wise to discuss the problem in Van Diemen's Land before the issue became a "serious practical one". Before a church should become Established in fact and in law would it not be wise to argue the question and come to a definite conclusion so that later on the opponents of Establishment could not say they had not had the opportunity to put their case. The article not only made it clear that opinion in the island was divided on the issue, but it also strongly suggested that there was a possibility of the Church of England becoming the

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<sup>57</sup> Hobart Town Courier, 24 March, 1837;  
Cornwall Chronicle, 1 April, 1837, 29 April, 1837.

<sup>58</sup> Hobart Town Courier, 26 May, 1837.



Established Church in the English sense. Such a view was borne out by a long piece in the True Colonist on Ecclesiastical Law, and by its assertion that English law did not apply to the colony.<sup>59</sup> In considering the Letters Patent creating an Archdeaconry and appointing an Archdeacon, the paper made the significant comment that many people interpreted the Royal Warrant as conferring upon the episcopal church the character of an established church with all its exclusive privileges.<sup>60</sup> People in the colony -- and that obviously included the Archdeacon<sup>61</sup> -- looked upon the King's appointment of Hutchins as the "sheet anchor" of the church<sup>62</sup> and it was prized accordingly. It was agreed by the opposition that a benefit had been conferred, the benefit of organisation, but that was all. The Presbyterians maintained that no superiority of status had been gained over them, and they advanced the extraordinary argument that if the Home Government had granted by the Letters Patent a power to the Archdeacon which was "prejudicial to the rights" of the Presbyterian church or to "any class of the community" it was unreasonable and void.

It would seem from the discussion in the press that Hutchins and others had put forward the argument that the creation of an Archdeaconry was a proof that the episcopal church of the colony was its established church. This argument the True Colonist rejected on the basis of some prior rights existing in the colony beyond the

<sup>59</sup>True Colonist, 5 May 1837.

<sup>60</sup>True Colonist, 5 May 1837.

<sup>61</sup>Wm. Hutchins Letter Addressed to the Revd. John Lillie

<sup>62</sup>True Colonist, 5 May 1837.

Op. Citp.7.

legislative reach of the Home Government. The Presbyterian case had not however been helped by the failure of the synodical meeting on the 5th April in Hobart.<sup>63</sup> A few days before the arrival of Sir John Franklin, the acting Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Snodgrass, had authorised a synodical meeting of the Presbyterian church. The members who hoped to form a synod met in accordance with the notice, but in the interim between the notice and the meeting, the legality of such a meeting by the mere notice of the Governor was questioned. Crown Law officers found that Snodgrass did not have the authority to call such a meeting without recourse to the Legislative Council. Franklin, through his private secretary, suggested that the meeting ought to be postponed until the legalities could be sorted out. When the delegates refused to disperse, he dissolved the meeting by proclamation.

The Presbyterians were further riled by the Archdeacon's posting of the two clergymen who had travelled out with him. Hutchins had placed his two new chaplains, Morris and Mayers in strategic areas, Oatlands and Hamilton.<sup>64</sup> This had meant that the appointment of an "official" chaplain made the presence of another minister redundant from the Government's point of view.<sup>65</sup> There was no vacancy for a Presbyterian, for there were no vacant chaplaincies. Thus the Presbyterian church was placed in the position of asserting rights that they were evidently not enjoying in the present,

<sup>63</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 7 April 1837.

<sup>64</sup>c.f. Hutchins to Whiteford, 16 May 1837; Hutchins to Schaw and Harland, 16 May 1837. Letter Book, I.

<sup>65</sup>True Colonist, 12 May 1837, 3 February 1837.

and asserting them at a time when the Secession movement in Scotland was causing division and distress.<sup>66</sup> It is not surprising therefore that the Presbyterian press and some influential individuals became rather militant in their cause. The Presbytery of Van Diemen's Land asserted the "rights of their country and their church"<sup>67</sup> by proceeding with the ordination and induction of Thomas Dove as "Minister of Oatlands", notwithstanding the "very bigotted and discreditable" opposition of the Church of England, styled as the "Prelacy Church Militant". The paper warned this church to beware for it rested upon a "very rotten foundation". All other sects of Christianity had seen its abuses and longed eagerly for its downfall from its superior position. Indeed its best chance of survival would be to concede to the Church of Scotland equal rights. Such a line of argument seemed to admit the dominant status of the Church of England while at the same time trying to deny it. This confusion clouded the later controversy between Hutchins and Lillie for the starting point of that debate was either that the Church of England was not Established in the colony and should not be; or that it was effectively Established and should be disestablished; both viewpoints could not coexist as the basis for the one argument.

On the 27th of April the Executive Council ruled that there were too few Presbyterians in the Oatlands district to justify the appointment of Mr. Dove,<sup>68</sup> which

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<sup>66</sup>True Colonist, 5 May 1837.

<sup>67</sup>True Colonist, 26 May 1837.

<sup>68</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 27 April 1837.

was another blow to the Presbyterian cause. At the same Council meeting it was decided that legislation regularising the Presbyterian Church could not be introduced into the Legislative Council until the Presbyterians themselves had made a submission. When they had forwarded their suggestions the governor would "take those suggestions into the most favourable consideration that may be consistent with the law and the King's instructions." At the next meeting of the Executive Council, the Governor explained that he had informed Mr. Dove he could not receive a government salary at Oatlands because he had not been replaced at St. Andrew's, Hobart. When that happened he would<sup>69</sup> get another appointment though not necessarily at Oatlands. A meeting of the Council on the 29th May virtually rejected complaints about Morris's appointment in front of Dove and decided that the induction of Dove was a contravention of the Governor's direction.<sup>70</sup> Moreover at the same time as the Council was disapproving of the Presbyterian plans it approved Hutchins's appointment of Freeman to Morven, and agreed to finance the building of the Queenborough Church.<sup>71</sup>

At the end of May Hutchins had every reason to feel that he was beginning to make an impression on the Colony, that he and his church did occupy a special position in the life of the Colony, that his own standing in Church and State was very high and sufficient to assist him in the spiritual task he had undertaken, and that he had the sympathetic ear of the Governor.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 1 May 1837.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid. 29 May 1837

<sup>71</sup>Ibid. 15, & 27 May 1837.

<sup>72</sup>Apart from official Government House Dinners (c.f. Lady Franklin's Dinner Book in Royal Society Archives) he seems to have been a frequent visitor at Government House. (c.f. Journals of Sir John Franklin and Lady Franklin).

However, in the next few months there was an increasing number of attacks upon the Church of England, its ministers and its Archdeacon. In particular the Church's special position in relation to State support and the special position of the Archdeacon in the Executive Council were seen as privileges which had no justification beyond tradition, and should therefore be opposed. By comparing the Anglicans with Presbyterians, Romans, Methodists, Independents, Quakers and Jews, the radicals were beginning to move toward a situation in which all these groups might be compared with non-religious groups in society. The use of the word "voluntary" in arguments about Church support was preparing people for the notion that membership of a religious body was a voluntary affair; there was no obligation to recognise the sovereignty of God. The Archdeacon saw the danger and spoke out vigorously against any action which would encourage such a trend.

The month of June 1837 opened unpropitiously for Hutchins with one of his horses stranded at Green Ponds.<sup>73</sup> The rest of the month saw a concerted attack on the Church of England. Much of it centered on the plan of Bedford Senior to build a new parsonage for St. David's and to turn the old one into a schoolhouse.<sup>74</sup> The project was objected to as another dip into the colonists' pockets to fill the "cormorant man of the Prelacy Church".<sup>75</sup> The question was asked, whether money was better spent

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<sup>73</sup> Bedford to his Wife, 1 June 1837. A.O.T. N.P. 65/3.

<sup>74</sup> Hutchins to Archer, 11 April 1837. L.B. p.4.

<sup>75</sup> True Colonist, 23 June 1837;  
Cornwall Chronicle, 1 July 1837.

on some remote or neglected district or on a "palace" for Bedford. At the same time, in his church, visitors were astonished to hear the morning hymn and the psalms being performed by the organ alone with not a single voice joining in; this sorry state of affairs was said to be because of the way Bedford - and presumably Hutchins - had treated Mrs. Logan.<sup>76</sup> Mr. Naylor also came under fire as more interested in cutting a dashing figure than in looking after the King's Orphan Schools.<sup>77</sup>

In the Courier there was a protracted correspondence on the Establishment, and the famous "Black Book or Corruption Unmasked" began to circulate in the island.<sup>78</sup> This was a virulent attack by John Wade on the Church of England published in 1823. It was followed up by "The Extraordinary Black Book" in 1831. Ordination was referred to as a "gross and beastly absurdity" and the Catechism as teaching twenty vices. It provided useful ammunition for the attack on the Church in Van Diemen's Land, and encouraged the press to look further afield for targets. Attacks were made on "My Lord Will", Broughton, on Mayers and Morris, and on the Hobarton Grammar School.<sup>80</sup> But the unnamed target of all these attacks seems to have been the new Archdeacon; even the lordly bishop would have been preferable, for his presence in the island would check "the intolerant spirit of opposition with which his

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<sup>76</sup>Tasmanian, 2 June 1837.

<sup>77</sup>Tasmanian, 16 June 1837; Cornwall Chronicle, 3 June. 1837

<sup>78</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 June 1837; Carpenter, Op. Cit. pp. 55, 56.

<sup>79</sup>Tasmanian, 23 June 1837.

<sup>80</sup>Tasmanian, 30 June 1837.



Priests are inspired" against the Church of Scotland.<sup>81</sup>

Hutchins's correspondence for June shows the variety and sometimes the pettiness of the problems with which he had to deal. Joseph Pettingell seems to have wanted to extend his school to his own advantage at the expense of government and church<sup>82</sup> and he had to be told firmly the conditions under which he occupied the property at Evandale.<sup>83</sup> Mr.Hone had not receipted the money sent him on behalf of the Dickenson orphans.<sup>84</sup> Davies, Beford Junior, and Norman had not replied to correspondence.<sup>85</sup> There were continuing difficulties with Biggs and the new Schoolhouse at Jerusalem.<sup>86</sup> The Committee of Management of the Orphan Schools had failed to answer questions put to the Committee three months before.<sup>87</sup> There was a tedious negotiation concerning the outstanding expenses due to the estate of the late and notorious Dr.Drought.<sup>88</sup> As chairman of the Committee of Enquiry into the Orphan Schools, Hutchins had discovered discrepancies in the evidence and was seeking to have it clarified.<sup>89</sup> Mr.Bedford Junior claimed allowances to which he did not appear entitled, and received no comfort from his Archdeacon.

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<sup>81</sup>True Colonist, 30 June 1837.

<sup>82</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 20 Ma. 1837.

<sup>83</sup>Hutchins to Pettingell, 2 June 1837. L.B.p.35.

<sup>84</sup>Hutchins to Hone, 2 June 1837, p.35.

<sup>85</sup>Letter Book, p.36.

<sup>86</sup>Hutchins to Biggs, 3,23 June 1837, pp.36,47.

<sup>87</sup>Hutchins to Committee, 12 June 1837, p.38.

<sup>88</sup>Hutchins to Boyes, 13 June 1837, p.40.

Minute, 20 June 1837, p.44.

Hutchins to Boyes, 21 June 1837, p.45.

<sup>89</sup>Hutchins to Everett, 20 June 1837, p.44.

Hutchins meanwhile continued to appoint schoolmasters, parish clerks, sextons and gravediggers with meticulous care, and to exercise scrupulous supervision over the clergy and over the schoolmasters.<sup>90</sup> Two letters in particular illustrate his prescience and his firmness.

It would seem that Mayers had been asked to conduct services in different places and at different times around Hamilton. He was instructed to confine his duties to Hamilton and to stick to the arrangements that had been made.<sup>91</sup> The Archdeacon expressed the view that the respectability and usefulness of the clergy would not be increased by continually altering plans. Clergy would best secure the respect of the community by discharging their duties with a quiet firmness according to their own best judgement. Hutchins did not want an itinerant clergy going about like tinkers; he was looking for a worshipping community that would gather round a resident pastor who could always be turned to because he could always be found. That resident pastor had to be, so far as it was possible, a man to be trusted, so in another letter, Hutchins rejected the services of a would-be catechist because he was concerned to have only the best men possible ministering to the people. This candidate claimed that he had been created a "lay chaplain" by the Bishop of London but Hutchins's enquiries threw doubt on this claim and further

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<sup>90</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 27 June 1837, p.47;

L.B. pp. 40,41,42,48,49,50;

Hutchins to Clergy, 16 June 1837, p.43;

Hutchins to Schoolmasters, 16 June 1837, p.41.

<sup>91</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 23 June 1837, p.46, and Index.

indicated that the aspirant was not a fit person.<sup>92</sup> If a proper parochial ministry was to be established in Van Diemen's Land it had to be set up on a solid foundation. By this standard Hutchins found the Reverend Mr. Davies a little too casual and had to give him rather specific instructions; Davies seems to have been a man who liked to go his own way and regarded returns and forms as an unnecessary nuisance.<sup>93</sup> Morris at Oatlands had to be reminded that the sacraments should be administered inside church if possible, and that letters needed to be answered.<sup>94</sup> Aislable, perhaps the only intellectual among the clergy, was despondent and disillusioned and Hutchins had to fight hard to keep him at Richmond.<sup>95</sup> Mayers he was trying to help in obtaining the salary to which he felt entitled. He was obtaining books for schools and recommending books for the use of Road Gangs.<sup>96</sup> Not unexpectedly perhaps, he found himself again embroiled in the Bothwell dispute. Garrett, the Presbyterian minister at Bothwell had written to the Colonial Secretary on the right of occupation of the church there. In the letter he claimed that Mayers had indicated his intention of holding a service in the church

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<sup>92</sup>Hutchins to Cheyne, 29 June 1837, L.B.p.49; Note;- Chadwick, O., The Victorian Church, Vol.2. (London: R. & C. Black Ltd.1972 ) p.152 states that lay readers were first introduced in the 1860's.

<sup>93</sup>Hutchins to Freeman, 4 July 1837, L.B.p.51; Hutchins to Davies 7,18,20,21,28 July 1837, pp.59,69,70,75,& 86.

<sup>94</sup>Hutchins to Morris 7,17 July 1837, pp.59,67.

<sup>95</sup>Hutchins to Aislable, 4 July " p.52.  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 27 July 1837,p.77.

<sup>96</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 28 July 1837, p.80;  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 13 July 1837, p.66;  
Hutchins to Mr.Ardell, 17 July 1837, p.67;  
Hutchins to Brownell, Russell, Biggs, Smales, Browne, Davies, Bedford, 17 July 1837, pp.68,69;  
Hutchins to Cheyne, 1 August, 1837, p.88; L.B. p.71.

at the same time as Garrett had arranged for a Reverend Russell to hold a Presbyterian service. Garrett had asked for a better spirit of cooperation. Clearly more had taken place than Garrett's letter suggested, for Hutchins when invited to comment by the Colonial Secretary stated that he had never refused Mr. Garrett the use of the church, neither had he ever expressed a wish that he should be refused, "but expressly the contrary".<sup>97</sup>

Hutchins meanwhile sent the Bishop the school returns, dealt with a problem of pew rents in New Town, arranged his next visitation,<sup>98</sup> and wrote a suitable letter of thanks to J. Ogle Gage Esquire for his assistance in collecting money for the Brighton church, "in which the inhabitants may for ages to come be instructed in those momentous truths which teach us both how to be comfortable here and happy hereafter".<sup>99</sup>

There seems to have been no limit to the problems Hutchins had to contend with, within the church: a lack of funds and facilities, grumbling and incompetence among his people, the growing Tractarianism of Bishop Broughton, and increasing hostility from the Presbyterians. Moreover he had to administer the religious and educational life of the colony with almost no assistance apart from a clerk.

In the Executive Council, Bedford's request for a new parsonage was making slow progress,<sup>100</sup> not helped by his encroaching on the church grounds for his garden, nor

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<sup>97</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 21 July 1837, p.73.

<sup>98</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 20 July 1837;  
" " " 25 July 1837; 28 July 1837.

<sup>99</sup>Hutchins to Gage, 28 July 1837. L.B. p.79.

<sup>100</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 6 Sept. & 12 September 1837.

by his having the garden watered during Divine Service.<sup>101</sup>  
On the other hand, a church was agreed to on Norfolk Plains, more money was obtained for the church at Queenborough, the church, parsonage, and school at Sorell were repaired at government expense, and a move was made to build a parsonage for Palmer. Mr. Dove was posted away to Flinders Island, but the newly arrived leader of the Scotch Church, John Lillie pressed for more recognition.<sup>102</sup>

On the 15th of November the necessary changes in the Anglican Liturgy following the accession of Queen Victoria were authorised in Council, which must have given the Archdeacon some small comfort in his fight for a National Church - small comfort because in the same meeting the final form of the Church Bill was approved.<sup>103</sup>

In December the case of Bedford versus Palmer came up again on the instructions of the Home Government and Franklin was placed in an awkward situation. Any re-opening of the case would increase friction at a time when feelings on religion were running high; in any case there was nothing new to be discovered, the Council had done all it could do, and the local legislature had resolved that the conduct of clergymen should not be subjected to the investigations of the Lieutenant Governor and the Executive Council but that it should be inquired into and decided upon according to the usages of the respective churches. In this affair that would mean an investigation by the

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<sup>101</sup>Tasmanian, 6 October 1837; True Colonist, 6 Oct. 1837.

<sup>102</sup>Ex Council Minutes, 12 Sept., 12 October 1837; 15 November 1837; 11 December 1837; 11 Dec. 1837; 18 September 1837; 28 September; 1 Nov.; 6 Nov., 17 November 1837.

<sup>103</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 15 November 1837; vide Ch. 8.

Bishop, unless a clergyman had committed a breach of the criminal or civil law.<sup>104</sup>

Hutchins would have been quite satisfied with the decision of the Governor in the Bedford case to leave well alone, but Broughton wrote a provocative and unnecessary letter to Glenelg<sup>105</sup> asserting rights which were not really being challenged. He still did not seem to appreciate in the way which Hutchins did, that an Established church must co-operate with the government and must be ready to accept on occasion the intervention of the civil authority. What had to be done in the early days of the church in Van Diemen's Land was the sorting out of the areas of jurisdiction. Hutchins was ready patiently to do this without conceding an iota of what he considered to be his rights, but Broughton seems to have been over sensitive and therefore always likely to arouse hostility.

The delicate matter of Palmer's status still remained to be settled.<sup>106</sup> Franklin had already indicated that Palmer's appointment as Rural Dean was provisional only and would not be continued after the arrival of the new Archdeacon, nor would the allowance of £50 p.a. continue to be paid. Palmer claimed that this decision was based on a misconception of the circumstances under which he had been originally sent out. It was his understanding from Lord Goderich and the Bishop of London that he would be made Rural Dean with an allowance of £50 which

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<sup>104</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 11 December 1837.

<sup>105</sup>Broughton to Glenelg, 12 Dec. 1837. CO 201/266 pp. 38-50 PRO.

<sup>106</sup>Palmer to Hutchins, 18 May 1837. L.B. p. 115.



once given would not be withdrawn; had he thought otherwise he would not have accepted the proposal. He would then never have "incurred the labor and responsibility and frequently the odium" which attended the superintendence of the Ecclesiastical and School Department. What had happened on the arrival of Hutchins was that Palmer found himself moved from the top of the list of chaplains to a position near the bottom of that list. The erstwhile Rural Dean wrote to Hutchins in order that he might communicate with the Diocesan but he had himself also written to the Bishop of London. Earlier the Archdeacon had been asked to send Palmer's request to London, but he had insisted that this could only be done through the Bishop and perhaps for that reason Palmer had demurred, for he knew Broughton's opinion of him following the Bishop's support of Bedford in their protracted dispute.

In his accompanying letter Hutchins explained why he had listed Palmer in the order of his seniority of service in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>107</sup> He had been clear in his own mind and from government instructions that the post of Rural Dean was provisional and conveyed no special rank. Any precedence Palmer had enjoyed derived from his membership of the Councils and not from any ecclesiastical status. Whether or not Palmer experienced trouble in carrying out his duties was not relevant to the question of the nature of his appointment. Hutchins asked the Bishop to give a ruling, and to grant permission for Palmer's letter to be sent to England. By the

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<sup>107</sup>Hutchins to Broughton, 22 August 1837. L.B.p.121.

end of September he had not heard from Broughton and had to tell Palmer that the matter had made no progress.<sup>108</sup> To make the situation worse, Palmer's house in Campbell Street seems to have been burnt and he pressed Hutchins to have a parsonage built for him.<sup>109</sup> This was not yet possible and the Archdeacon told him so. It is hard to tell from these rather official letters how sympathetic Hutchins was with Palmer; after all he had himself experienced the confusion that could arise between the colonies and the Home Government. But the impression given is that the Archdeacon regarded the Chaplain of Trinity as inefficient and weak. He may have subconsciously remembered Bedford's comment to Arthur, that Palmer, since arriving in the colony, "displayed such unvaried industry and perseverance in his attempt to injure my reputation".<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, whatever Hutchins's opinion of Palmer he had to work with him and somehow he had to make him happy in the service.

In the last half of 1837 Hutchins was heavily committed to the planning and building of churches. Building had begun at Ross and Campbelltown but work had been held up after trouble with the contractor.<sup>111</sup> There seems to have been some trickery involved in the contracts and the Archdeacon was concerned to protect the funds without bringing the construction to a halt.<sup>112</sup> Both Thomas Parramore, the chairman of the Church Committee,

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<sup>108</sup>Hutchins to Palmer, 25 September 1837, L.B.p.148.

<sup>109</sup>Hutchins to Palmer, 13 October 1837, L.B. p.155.

<sup>110</sup>Bedford to Arthur, 9 September 1836. Bedford Papers N.S.R. N.P. 18/1/2., A.O.T.

<sup>111</sup>Hutchins to Emmett, 7 July 1837, L.B. p.50.

<sup>112</sup>Hutchins to Parramore, 11 July 1837, L.B. p. 64.

and Frederick Forth, its secretary, leaned heavily upon Hutchins for guidance in a regrettable situation, and quite a close friendship was struck up between Forth and Hutchins during this time. Thomas Parramore was a farmer at Ross whose brother had been Governor Arthur's private secretary. Frederick Forth was Police Magistrate at Campbelltown, the local coroner, and Deputy Chairman of the Quarter Sessions; he was to become Director General of Roads.<sup>113</sup>

At Bagdad, Hutchins encouraged the local congregation towards building a church and he conducted services there himself, riding out from Hobart. Sometimes he went on a little way and took services at Green Ponds on the same trip.<sup>114</sup> When he was not officiating in the country he seems regularly to have helped Bedford at St. David's.<sup>115</sup> Meanwhile Palmer made little progress with the new Trinity Church and Hutchins tried to make the old prison chapel as habitable as possible.<sup>116</sup> However, some headway was being made with a new church at Norfolk Plains and Hutchins

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<sup>113</sup>Hutchins to Parramore, 11 July 1837, L.B. p.64, 2 letters; 20 July 1837, p.86; 12 September 1837, p.138; Hutchins to Forth, 28 July 1837, p.84; 4 August, 1837, p.98; 4 August 1837, p.99; 8 September 1837, p.135; 26 September 1837, p.150; 10 December 1837, p.186. Hutchins to Forth, 4 August 1837, p.99. Note:- Hutchins consulted the Crown Solicitor on the Ross and Campbelltown churches, c.f. Hutchins to Ross, 19 August, 8 September, 12 September 1837, pp. 73, 135, 140.

A.D.B. 1788-1850, Vol.II, p.314.  
Forth to Colonial Secretary 13 July 18 7, T.A. CSO 16/354/81.

<sup>114</sup>Hutchins to Lindley, 5 September 1837, L.B.p.129; Hutchins to Lindley, 1 December 1837, p.170; Hutchins to Gorringe, 5 December 1837, p.179; Hutchins to Smales, 28 July 1837, p.80; 11 August 1837, p.104.

<sup>115</sup>Bedford Sen. to his wife, October 1837, H.A. NSR

<sup>116</sup>Hutchins to Kelsall, 23 October 1837, L.B. p.169. <sup>NP65/3.</sup>

was able to obtain extra government money for the project; he also sent Davies plans for the building. Later he wanted to know by what name the church would be known, indicating the degree of detail he seems to have been meticulous about.<sup>117</sup> He was also obtaining funds for the Brighton Church and for a possible church at Oatlands where the passing of the Church Act would make the Reverend Morris's position untenable unless the Anglicans there were ready to petition the government for a minister and a church in the form prescribed by the new Act.<sup>118</sup> Meanwhile at Bothwell the proposed church Act had not improved relations between the two communions and Hutchins placed much of the blame on Garrett and Russell, the two Presbyterians ministering there. But he was aware of Mayers' volatile temperament and was continually sending him instructions and advice, for it was imperative that the Church of England maintain its influence round Bothwell and Hamilton.<sup>119</sup> Especially it was very important for Mayers to attend at Bothwell as often as possible and

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<sup>117</sup>Hutchins to Davies, 5 September 1837, p.132.

Hutchins to Davies, 19 September 1837, p.146.

Hutchins to Davies, 25 September 1837, p.151.

Hutchins to Davies, 21 November 1837, p.177.

Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 21 November 1837, p.177.

<sup>118</sup>c.f. Hutchins to Forster, 7 September 1837, p.134.

Hutchins to Anstey, 15 December 1837, p.190.

Hutchins to Anstey, 19 December 1837, p.192.

<sup>119</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 3 October 1837, L.B.p.152;  
21 November 1837, p.175;

Hutchins to Mayers, 14 November 1837, p.173;

Hutchins to Mayers, 1 August, 8 August, 11 August,  
15 August, 3 October, 24 October, 14 November  
21 November, 8 December, 15 December 1837, pp. 91, 102,  
104, 107, 152, 170, 172, 173, 175, 181, 187.

Hutchins made this clear. It was also vital that Mayers' schools should be properly managed and Mr. Anstice was too cavalier about school hours; Hutchins had to reprimand him on two occasions for not abiding by the regulations which required a school to be open from nine to twelve in the morning, and two to four in the afternoon.<sup>120</sup>

A number of other matters connected with the schools occupied his attention. He was anxious to see new school houses at Jerusalem and Brown's River, to have the schools at Bridgewater, New Town, and Back River properly furnished, to appoint a new master at the Springs School, to repair the school premises at Bothwell, and to regularize the payment of schoolmasters' salaries. He arranged schooling for the road gang at Perth, a supply of Bibles for prisoners, accommodation for schoolmasters, and drew up a contract for the lease of a schoolroom in Sandy Bay.<sup>121</sup> He continued to be most particular about the propriety of marriages performed by the clergy, about scales of charges, about sittings and pew rents, and about

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<sup>120</sup> Hutchins to Anstice, 1 August 1837, p.90;  
19 September 1837, p.147.

<sup>121</sup> Hutchins to Aislabie, 29 September 1837, p.151;  
Hutchins to Russell, 14 July 1837, p.67.  
Hutchins to Brownell, Jones, Wells, 4 December, 1837,  
pp. 178, 179.  
Hutchins to Browne, 6 October 1837, p.153.  
Hutchins to Archer, 19 August 1837, p.113.  
Hutchins to Schoolmasters, 1 September 1837, p.129.  
Hutchins to Cheyne, 3 August 1837, L.B. p.92.  
Hutchins to Biggs, 19 September 1837, p.147.  
Hutchins to Davies, 17 October 1837, p.160.  
Hutchins to Barber, 25 August 1837, p.125.

Copy of Contract, p.161. L.B.

requisition forms. He made sure his clergy altered their prayer books when Victoria became Queen.<sup>122</sup> When the Church Act was passed he had the unenviable task of dismissing from the Government Service over forty sextons, parish clerks, bell ringers, and organists,<sup>123</sup> because their emoluments were no longer found by the Colonial Government. Hutchins also appears to have been faced with a problem when a member of the Church of England began officiating as a local preacher with the Wesleyans; he wrote to Mr. Jacobs to find out whether his name had been included on the official Wesleyan list with his distinct consent or not.<sup>124</sup> Presumably he would have removed his name from the Anglican list if the answer had been in the affirmative.

When the Church Act was eventually passed, Hutchins was very disappointed but he did not give up. Through December 1837 he was active in encouraging communities to requisition for churches, parsonages, and chaplains, and he sent all of them a proforma on which to apply.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Hutchins to Browne, 4, 8 August 1837, pp.100,101; Hutchins to Freeman, 5 September 1837, p.130. Hutchins to Knopwood, 8 August 1837, p.101; Hutchins to Mr. Ardell, 12 September 1837, p.137. Hutchins to Churchwardens, 15 August, 8 September 1837, pp.105,134.

Note:- Statement of Sittings and Rents on p.145. L.B. p.111.

Hutchins to Chaplains, 27 October 1837, p.170.

<sup>123</sup> Hutchins to Apted, Barrett, Blackney, Butcher, Billet, Bryan, Cowles, Creshway, Corney, Chambers, Fyfe, Forte, Foyle, Harrison, Hall, Holdship, House, Hecksher, Howard, Hughes, Hines, Hobden, Jones, Johnston, Jones, Lindley, Logan, Longtree, McDowell, McEachern, McArdell, Marshall, Mills, Martin, Peacock, Peckham, Parsons, Porter, Smales, Shepherd, Taylor, vide: Index to Letter Book and pp.180,181.

<sup>124</sup> Hutchins to Jacobs, 12 September 1837, p.138.

<sup>125</sup> Letter Book, p.195.



Two hundred pages of the Letter Book are devoted to the Archdeacon's official correspondence for 1837, and the impression given is of a hardworking, highly competent, administrator doing his utmost for the churches and schools he had to supervise, and at the same time planning for the future. Not even the passing of the Church Act deterred him; he simply made the most of the new conditions. And when necessary to do so, he went directly and privately to the Governor with whom he clearly enjoyed a close relationship.<sup>126</sup> At the same time he continued his visits to the stations and seems to have made friends with his clergy.<sup>127</sup> By all this attention to detail, Hutchins was aiming to establish a network of churches and schools which would serve their local communities. Through their common membership of the church, these communities would share a way of life of which religion was an integral part. Their behaviour would be governed by the moral precepts of the church. More importantly they would be aided and supported in maintaining their standards by the constant ministrations of the 'parish' church and the resident parson.

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<sup>126</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 11 August 1837, L.B. p.104.

<sup>127</sup>c.f. W.H.Browne, Diary, Op.Cit., 1-4 November 1837.

CHAPTER 8  
THE PASSING OF THE CHURCH ACT

In 1836 an Act had been passed in New South Wales providing financial assistance from the Government to the "three great divisions" of Christianity for the building of churches and clergy dwellings, and for the augmentation of stipends.<sup>1</sup> £300 had to be found by private donors before there could be a matching building grant from the government which in any case would not exceed £1,000. A stipend would be paid to duly appointed ministers of religion in proportion to the number of people who declared their intention of attending the minister's church or chapel; if the number were one hundred, the payment would be £100; if two hundred, it would be £150; if five hundred, it would be £200.

In accordance with Whig policy and led by strong evangelical principles, Sir John Franklin began to frame a similar Bill for Van Diemen's Land, legitimatizing government aid to the denominations which had already been provided by the previous Governor in quite generous measure, but in a significant way limiting such aid by the principle of "first in, only served". Franklin's intention was to provide a Church and Minister in an area when the church-going population was large enough to justify such expenditure. It was unlikely that there would be many requests on behalf of the Roman Catholics who were weak in Van Diemen's Land, but there would clearly be

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<sup>1</sup> William N. No.3., 1836, in Acts and Ordinances of the Governor and Council of N.S.W., Vol.II, 1836, pp.719-723.

calls from the Protestant communities. To Franklin it was immaterial whether the Protestant church was Anglican or Presbyterian so long as a church was built for Christian Worship. If a Presbyterian church were built in an area no money would be available for an Anglican church until a considerable time had passed. The nature of Hutchins's appointment by the King, his official position on the Legislative and Executive Councils, his Superintendency of all the Government schools, and the setting aside of at least 20,000 acres of Glebe land for the Church of England<sup>2</sup> testified to the special role of the Established Church. Franklin's proposals, while not changing any of these arrangements, would have the effect of stultifying them. Hutchins never opposed the notion that other denominations should receive financial help; he was concerned about the form of the enabling Bill and its long term consequences on the status of the Church of England. The argument through 1837 was not about the principle of granting money to denominations other than Anglican, but about the right of the Church of England as the National Church to minister to the population, church-going or not, wherever they might live, and about the consequent right to receive the means whereby such a ministry could be undertaken.

In June 1837 Hutchins attended seven of the nine meetings of the Executive Council and it soon became clear that a struggle lay ahead on the twin questions of church recognition and education.<sup>3</sup> Education was discussed all

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<sup>2</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 31 December 1838, C.S.O. 5/149/3705 A.O.T.; H.T.G., 20 December 1839 on lease of Glebe Lands.

<sup>3</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 1, 5, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 26, 28 June, 1837.

day at one meeting without any conclusions being reached.<sup>4</sup> On the question of Church Extension there was some measure of agreement on the Executive Council and Franklin was sensitive to the wishes of the Presbyterians; he determined to bring in a Bill when the Legislative Council met in July.<sup>5</sup> Hutchins however was not prepared to give his support to a scheme which placed the Anglican, Roman and Presbyterian churches on the same footing and he made his views known in the Executive Council.<sup>6</sup> He recommended that the Bill should be limited in scope to the amount of money to be granted for churches, houses and stipends, and to the conditions upon which the money would be granted. He felt that further legislation might be necessary for the proper ordering and governing of the temporalities thus acquired but recommended that the Sydney Act, shortly to be implemented, should be viewed first and its effectiveness assessed. Gregory, the Colonial Treasurer, then put forward a scheme more in accord with Glenelg's 1835 dispatch to Governor Bourke<sup>7</sup> authorising payments to the three major denominations but which did not destroy "the weight which the Church of England has hitherto possessed" and in the opinion of many "advantageously from having been regarded practically as the Established Church of the Colony".<sup>8</sup> Following a lengthy discussion a majority of the Executive Council recommended a measure which would allow eighty members of any of the three major denominations

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 26 June 1837.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, 28 June 1837.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, 28 June 1837.

<sup>7</sup>Glenelg to Bourke, 30 Nov. 1835. H.R.A. I, XVIII, p. 207.

<sup>8</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 28 June 1837.

to obtain financial help from the Government to erect a church and parsonage in their district; the Government would pay £250 per annum as a minister's stipend.

During this vital month of negotiation it might be supposed that Hutchins was spending his time either at Government House or in his office. On the contrary he was paying "frequent visits to various districts",<sup>9</sup> showing by example part of the role of the Established Church at this time under threat.<sup>10</sup>

When the Legislative Council met, the Archdeacon took the oaths and his seat.<sup>11</sup> The Governor's opening address would have brought him some little comfort. Franklin said that although he was anxious to give his attention to education he was not yet prepared to propose any specific plan. In religion he wished people to live together in mutual kindness implying a policy of toleration; however he indicated a desire to promote the moral influence of the Church of England. He then put three proposals before the Legislature:

1. That the three communions especially referred to in Glenelg's dispatch to Bourke as the leading denominations in New South Wales should as regards their ministers be admitted as special subjects of endowment from the public revenue.
2. That all denominations of Christians should receive aid in the building of churches and ministers' dwellings

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid

<sup>10</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 1, 6 July 1837.

<sup>11</sup>

Hobart Town Courier, 14 July 1837.

on the principle that private contributions would be both the condition and the measure of public support.

3. That ministers of the three denominations "as may be appointed by His Majesty" should receive £250 per annum of which £100 would be contributed by the congregation.

The debate on the Church Bill was vigorous and protracted and it took place both in the Council and in the press.<sup>12</sup> It was noted that the Governor could stop the salaries of ministers who did not produce to him "sufficient proof" of their having performed church duties satisfactorily, which made them subject to the Governor rather than to their ecclesiastical superior. It was a contentious issue that the Government rather than the churches would, in theory at least, appoint and control ministers. It was asked how a minister's salary would be guaranteed if the present subscribers died or moved. A danger as well as an injustice was seen in preferring Roman Catholics to Wesleyans and Independents. There was general disquiet that the Bill would place ministers in a situation of difficulty and dependence. The Tasmanian agreed with the True Colonist that the principle underlying the Bill was acceptable but attacked the Bill in detail, citing as an example the irony of the Archdeacon becoming a trustee of the Presbyterian Church simply because he was a member of the Government.<sup>13</sup> The Cornwall Chronicle while active in exposing alleged defects in the Church

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<sup>12</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 14, 21, 28 July; 4, 18, 25 August; 5, 8, 15, 29 September; 13, 20 October 1837; Launceston Advertiser 3 August 1837; True Colonist 14 July 1837; Bent's News 28 October 1837.

<sup>13</sup>Tasmanian and Review, 14 July 1837.



of England took the view "that the Established Religion of the country should not be severed from the State".<sup>14</sup> The Courier argued that at the present period of social and political existence decisions as to the divine right and expediency of a State Church involved consequences of indefinite importance.<sup>15</sup>

Hutchins, although he was a member of the Legislative Council took no part in the Council debate, nor would he in the future attend Council sessions where his presence might embarrass the Governor. What he had to contribute he spoke in the Executive Council or in private.<sup>16</sup> Hutchins shared with Sir John Franklin a concern that the Gospel should be preached by all means possible, and that the lives of those commending the Faith should be above reproach. However, he did not agree that all Protestant denominations were basically the same and that it did not matter which became the dominant influence in a district; there were significant doctrinal differences which should be recognised, and Hutchins believed that controversy was not of necessity bad nor in the long term harmful to Christianity. Nor did he agree with Franklin that the State's responsibility was merely to assist worshipping Christians to build a place of worship and fund a minister; rather it was to co-operate with the Established Church in a pastorate to all citizens and in teaching Christianity to all who were brought into the country. He was therefore particularly concerned at the principle of voluntaryism which had been incorporated into the Bill which he had not

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<sup>14</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 26 August 1837.

<sup>15</sup>Hobart Town Courier, .16 June 1837.

<sup>16</sup>Executive Council Minutes 15,22 July 1837.

expected, believing the arguments in favour of the principle to have been defeated.<sup>17</sup> Such a principle would strike hard at his attempts to establish a parish system.

Hutchins would rather have seen the clergy secure in the possession of a smaller stipend than the larger sum proposed which depended upon voluntary gifts, provided that the smaller stipend was wholly paid by the Government. Otherwise, he argued, the settlement of a chaplain in any district would be consequent upon the voluntary contributions of the people there, and such an arrangement would involve a procedure subversive of one of the principles of Establishment, namely, "the duty of every Government to press religious instruction upon the attention even of the most careless and apathetic".<sup>18</sup> The justification of an Established Church was that it did not wait until people actually sought religious instruction with the opportunity to worship, thereby indicating their readiness to support a ministry financially; rather it took the initiative in caring for the lost, the strayed and the forgetful. Hutchins wanted a system where the parish priest had security of tenure in terms of a living, so that he could be what he had to be to some extent in each generation, a missionary teacher: providing the sacraments to people as they and the law required: using those sacraments as teaching opportunities: and with the support of a Christian Government bringing young and old to Sunday School and Church.

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<sup>17</sup> Hobart Town Courier, 16 June 1837.

<sup>18</sup> Executive Council Minutes, 15 July 1837; Note:-  
W.E. Gladstone in The State in its Relations with the Church (London, John Murray, 1839) advanced the same argument.

Hutchins pursued this line of argument throughout July. He emphasized the difficulty of getting chaplains to new stations, the undesirability of making a chaplain dependent on his parishioners and the unlikelihood of finding in neighbourhoods where religious instruction was most needed any spontaneous effort to contribute liberally toward the maintenance of a Minister of Religion.<sup>19</sup> His vigorous advocacy had some effect. Franklin agreed that the Government would provide all of the stipend but at a lower rate. Indeed the Legislative Council members were so troubled by the proposed income reduction to £200 per annum that they requested the Governor to guarantee forty acres of glebe for each minister.<sup>20</sup> At the end of July following the second reading it was decided to print the Bill in an amended form and circulate it for public discussion;<sup>21</sup> Hutchins had already circularised the clergy.<sup>22</sup>

Over the next four months the public debate on the Church Bill waxed hot, and the general tenor of opinion was antagonistic to the Church of England and in favour of a voluntary system, at least in so far as the press reflected public opinion.<sup>23</sup> Naylor and Bedford proved easy targets for a hostile newspaper, and Browne in Launceston was accused of being overpaid under the existing "Establishment" arrangements.<sup>24</sup> Hutchins himself

<sup>19</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 22 July 1837.

<sup>20</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land, p.25.

<sup>21</sup>Hobart Town Courier, .4 August, 1837.

<sup>22</sup>Hutchins to Clergy, 14 July 1837. L.B.p.67.

<sup>23</sup>True Colonist, 11 Aug., 8 Sep., 6, 13 Oct. 1837; Tasmanian 1, 8, Sep., 6, 13, 20 Oct. 1837; Bent's News 23 Sep. 1837; Hobart Town Courier, 4, 18, 25 Aug., 5, 8, 15, 29 Sep., 6, 13, 20 Oct. 1837; Cornwall Chronicle 26 Aug., 16, 23, 30 Sep. 7 October 1837.

<sup>24</sup>Tasmanian 6 Oct. 1837; True Colonist 8 Sep., 6 Oct. 1837.

was charged with obtaining the best land attached to the Orphan Schools on which to build a house.<sup>25</sup> There was what seemed like a concerted effort to denigrate the clergy who were called "dunces, asses, those who have not been able to make their own way".<sup>26</sup> The Cornwall Chronicle published a cartoon showing two Church of England parsons gazing wistfully from their empty, and therefore over staffed, church to the nonconformist chapel across the street with one saying to the other:

The Devil's in the place, brother: they are all crossing to the shop over the way, and leave us to preach to the empty pews, in spite of our puffs and parade about a Reform. If things go on in this kind of way much longer, we must give up business altogether.<sup>27</sup>

The following week the same newspaper had a cartoon of a Prelatical Locust with this address:

And now you've gorged upon your ceaseless meal  
And swollen as tuns, you stagger and you reel;  
And fill and burst you will, and men will say,  
Where has our reason been this many a day? <sup>28</sup>

The implication was clear. The Church of England was not worth what society up to this time had paid to support it. If the Church Bill was a step towards relieving people of such payments it should be supported. Only the chaplain at Richmond, William Aislabie, received a favourable comment; when he sent a petition to the Legislative Council against the Bill it was said to be a fair effort to maintain

<sup>25</sup>True Colonist, 11 August 1837.

<sup>26</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 26 August, 1837.

<sup>27</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 23 September 1837.

<sup>28</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 30 September 1837.

the falling position of the Church of England.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the antagonism there was a substantial number of people who agreed with Aislabie that if the Bill were passed truth would be sacrificed and the Church of England would be degraded and deprived of her privileges because Scotsmen would not be content unless their church was placed upon a footing of the strictest equality with that of England, and this in a colony where the Church of England had from the very commencement of the Colony's existence been recognised by the Government in all its acts as the Established Church.<sup>30</sup>

At the beginning of September a new figure entered the debate. John Lillie arrived in Hobart to become minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.<sup>31</sup> It was clear to most people that he would become the leader of the Presbyterians in Tasmania, and his arrival had been eagerly awaited since the opening of St. Andrew's the previous year.<sup>32</sup> The Edinburgh Courant of May 1837 had spoken highly of the new minister and viewed his prospects in Hobart with optimism.<sup>33</sup> He was clearly not a man to avoid controversy and within a few days Lillie was giving his views on the draft legislation. At his induction on the 10th of September he outlined Presbyterian claims in a sermon which was a "judicious combination of decided principle and Christianity liberality".<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>True Colonist, 6 September 1837; Tasmanian, 1 Sep. 1837.

<sup>30</sup>Border, Ross, Church and State in Australia 1788-1872 (London, S.P.C.K., 1962) p. 110; H.T.C. 4, 18, 25 August 1837.

<sup>31</sup>Courier, 8 Sep. 1837; Executive Council Minutes 12 Sep. 1837.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid; Mortyn, S.M., "Archibald McArthur" in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. II p. 144; Roe, Michael, "John Lillie" in A.D.B. Vol. II, p. 118.

<sup>33</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 3 September 1837.

<sup>34</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 15 September, 1837.

Lillie quickly realised that the Legislative Council vote in November would be crucial, and he set about creating a climate in which the members would view the Bill as progressive legislation and would believe that the majority of citizens favoured it.<sup>35</sup>

In the circumstances Lillie decided to publish his induction sermon and add some prefatory remarks on the issue of establishment.<sup>36</sup> He saw the moment as a time of crisis in the moral and religious history of the colony. He asserted that the Home Government had already sanctioned the "distribution of equal support" to the three leading ecclesiastical bodies whose principles were "consistent with a national establishment of religion". He welcomed the proposed Bill as a recognition, albeit delayed, of the "unquestionable rights and liberties of Scotchmen". He claimed that the Church of England and the Church of Scotland were established in the Mother Country upon precisely the same footing and therefore all that could be argued for the Establishment of the Church of England in the Colony could be argued on behalf of the Church of Scotland.

Hutchins quickly realised that Lillie had introduced a new principle into the debate and had interpreted the Bill as supporting "multi-establishment". This meant that the granting of money to a denomination was tantamount to the Government recognising their scriptural

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<sup>35</sup>c.f. Hobart Town Courier, 8 December 1837.

<sup>36</sup>Lillie, J., A Sermon preached upon his introduction to the pastoral care of St. Andrew's Church together with some preliminary observations in reference to the Ecclesiastical arrangement. (W.G. Elliston: Hobart, 1837.)



basis. It was one thing to provide financial assistance to churches other than the Anglican Church; that had happened under Arthur and was in any case authorised by Glenelg. It was quite another thing to assume that such endowment made the recipient a "true" church. If truth was to become so flexible and relative then the logical conclusion was that a non Christian group would be equally "true." Voluntaryism threatened the economic base of the Church of England in Van Diemen's Land; Multi-establishment threatened its philosophical base.

Lillie expressed the hope that cordial co-operation would exist abroad as it did between the churches at home, who were fighting together against common enemies in defence of the "truly important principle of a national religious establishment".<sup>37</sup> He omitted to say that the co-operation arose from the exclusive position of Anglicans in England and Presbyterians in Scotland and that the main "enemy" was the Roman Catholic Church. He asserted that the membership of his church was very nearly equal to the membership of the Archdeacon's church. He saw the role of the churches as a proselytising one, unfettered by any "fictitious boundaries of church membership" - so much for Hutchins's ideal of a parish system.

With a supreme disregard for logic, Lillie maintained that he would never concur in the Establishment of the Roman Church just as that Church would not agree to the Establishment of Protestantism, but he saw the measure coming on to the statute book and was ready to

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid, p.3.

meet the supporters of the Roman Catholics upon equal ground. Lillie was now in the dilemma of saying that Government payments to Presbyterians were a recognition of their privileged position in the country whereas Government payments to Roman Catholics recognised nothing. He advanced the extraordinary argument that while it was the duty of a nation to give its direct support to religion, nevertheless such support was no test or criterion of the truth of the religion supported.<sup>38</sup> The logical end of this argument had to be that any "religion" appearing in a country, however odd it might be, should receive the equal support Lillie had commended at the start of his paper, including the religion of secularism.

It is clear that Lillie saw the Church Bill as the best means available of reducing the influence of the Church of England while promoting the welfare of his own church, for he was troubled by divisions in the Presbyterian ranks and he aimed to unite them in a common cause. Unlike Hutchins, he was concerned with the immediate advantage and does not seem to have understood that he was promoting an attitude which would lead ultimately to the demise of the Christian Church as a major influence in Australian politics. The result which Lillie achieved in the community can be seen by noting

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid, p.6. Note:- Lillie did not foresee the time when the Presbyterian, Lang, was to denounce the Church Act of Bourke as a tyranny of the worst kind. c.f. Shaw, G.P., Patriarch and Prophet, William Grant Broughton 1788-1853, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1978) p.146.

the Courier's review of the published sermon.<sup>39</sup> In a country where many sects prevailed a Government should not participate in the principles of any sect. It should only be a "pecuniary dispenser", and if this were so the Roman Catholics had an indisputable claim upon the State for funds. Lillie's intervention in the debate led to a growing feeling in the colony that any kind of Establishment would increase controversy and division.<sup>40</sup> Ultimately, the recognition of all sects would lead people to say that the Government should help no sects and should therefore recognise no Established Churches. Hutchins maintained with Gladstone that one of the principal aims of government was the preservation of religious truth and that the Church of England taught "more truth with less alloy of error than would be taught by those who, if she were swept away, would occupy the vacant space".<sup>41</sup> Perhaps without fully understanding the consequences of his actions Lillie was hastening the onset of the very thing Hutchins was hoping to avoid: a state of affairs in which religious persuasion had little to do with truth as the positivists defined truth, and in which adherence to the church was a matter of personal predilection rather than obligation.

Ironically, Lillie ended his sermon with a comment which seems at odds with the overall thrust of his argument and with which Hutchins would have heartily agreed, for it was at the root of his efforts to establish a parochial system, and reflected his own experience throughout his life:

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<sup>39</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 20 October 1837.

<sup>40</sup>Tasmanian, 10 Nov, 15 Dec. 1837; Cornwall Chronicle, 30 December, 1837.

<sup>41</sup>Macaulay, Lord Thomas Babington, Historical Essays (London: Oxford University Press, 1913) p.392.

By means of her Parish Kirks, and their constant and befitting companions, the Parish School Houses, she has diffused through the mass of her rural population, that wholesome and Scriptural instruction which improves and strengthens, at the same time that it enlightens the mind; and which is equally removed from the extreme of ignorance which degrades and brutalizes...<sup>42</sup>

It was important that the Anglican position should be made clear and public, and Hutchins's reply to Lillie which was written in acknowledgement of the receipt of a copy of the Induction Sermon was therefore printed and circulated.<sup>43</sup> Hutchins praised the piety and eloquence of Lillie but indicated that he did not concur with some of Lillie's views; he disliked controversy but since Lillie had published his own remarks Hutchins felt bound as Archdeacon to reply publicly or fail in his duty.

First, Hutchins pointed out that the Home Government had not sanctioned the distribution of equal support to the three leading Ecclesiastical Bodies. On the contrary, Glenelg was anxious that every encouragement should be given to the extension of the Church of England which was "consistent with the just claims of other denominations".<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Lillie, Op.Cit. p.31.

<sup>43</sup>Hutchins, Wm., A Letter to the Rev. John Lillie (Hobart: W.G.Elliston, 1837).

<sup>44</sup>Ibid, p.5; c.f. Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 22 July 1840, Letter Book, No.2.

This could of course mean that if the claims of all were indeed equal then equal support should be given to all. But the nature of each church's claim had to be decided before the inference of equal support could be drawn; merely to state that the three bodies had been granted the right of equal support was to beg the question of claim, not to resolve it.

Secondly, Hutchins queried the meaning of a "church whose principles are consistent with a national establishment of religion". He emphasized that so far as the Roman Church was concerned those words had to mean an exclusive establishment, because the Roman Church did not recognise any other church as valid. If the phrase meant for others simply that a government should support "Christianity" as the national religion, then establishment would be consistent with the principles of denominations other than the three mentioned in the Bill and accepted by Lillie. Neither definition of "establishment" was commonly held in England or in Scotland where the national legislature had specifically approved the Articles, Creeds and Discipline of the Established Church and conferred upon it privileges, temporal rights, and possessions not enjoyed by other denominations, either in England or in Scotland.

Thirdly, Hutchins did not agree that the rights and liberties of Scotsmen had been infringed in the earlier years of the Colony's history. The history showed that when Scotsmen arrived in Van Diemen's Land they found themselves subject to the laws of England rather than to the

laws of Scotland. It was the clear right of the Parliament at Westminster to determine which law should be the prevailing law in Van Diemen's Land and which church should be the Established Church; both these matters had been determined and had been generally accepted. There was no analogy between the mode in which the Anglican and Presbyterian churches were established in England and Scotland and the mode in which Lillie wanted them established in Van Diemen's Land. If the northern and southern parts of the island were inhabited respectively by Scotsmen and Englishmen having their own laws, there might be no great difficulty in establishing the Church of Scotland in the north and the Church of England in the south. However such was not the case and Lillie was really using the Draft Bill as a way of upsetting the status quo and reducing the influence of the Archdeacon and his clergy. What would happen, asked Hutchins, if members of the Church of England tried to have their church established in Scotland? There would surely be great difficulties and one would not need the Scottish gift of second sight to foresee the obstacles to such a proceeding, he replied to his own question, with a shaft of wit that irritated Lillie and his supporters. Hutchins for his own part would condemn any move of the sort as subversive of the Scottish establishment.

Hutchins conceded that the nature of his argument meant that if the positions were reversed the Church of Scotland would occupy his place in the Colony, and if that were the case he would be content to leave the Church of Scotland the only established church, as had happened in



the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>45</sup> His great fear was that Lillie's desire for a co-existing establishment would subvert the principle of a national establishment and lead to a loss of status for the Established Church, despite Lillie's protestations that he supported the principle. It could also lead to the defeat of the Establishment at home as well as in the Australian colonies. If two or three churches could co-exist in the same community in the role of established churches, why might not twenty or thirty? "And then, where will the establishment shortly be?"

Fourthly, Hutchins regretted Lillie's attempt to persuade people that the numbers in the two churches were equal. If the basis of the calculations was applied to the United Kingdom, Lillie's suggested procedures would denude almost every parish not only in England but also in Scotland. The assertion that the Presbyterians had not been assisted financially in proportion to their numbers was not in accord with the facts. Membership of the Church of England in Van Diemen's Land was six and a half times that of the Church of Scotland and the sum voted to the Church of Scotland was in proportion to its numbers nearly twice as much as that voted to the Church of England. Presbyterians claimed that the census was incorrectly taken and that their figures were more accurate, though Hutchins did not know by what authority they claimed accuracy for their numbers. It seemed odd to him that the descendants of Scotsmen were to be regarded as belonging to the church of their ancestors whereas the

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid, pp.8,9.

the descendants of Englishmen were not be counted as members of the Church of England.

Finally, Hutchins took Lillie to task for suggesting that the Government should appoint Chaplains who had shown missionary enterprise and only give them the available appointments, implying that Presbyterians would do a better job than Anglicans. If Lillie really believed this, he should demonstrate his own pastoral and evangelical zeal before making the claim. Hutchins also regretted that Lillie had ascribed to the Church of England sordid and unchristian motives and had accused Anglicans of pursuing selfish and unworthy ends, of showing a haughty and supercilious bearing towards others, and of being "inflated by a foolish conceit of their own nominal consequence".

Lillie had disowned any responsibility for the Church Bill, but Hutchins claimed that the measure in its draft form had been forced on the Governor - and he was in a good position to know - by the Presbyterian community despite the opposition of other denominations. If Lillie had disapproved of the measure as he said he did, a simple declaration from him and from the members of his church that they disapproved of it would have proved its death warrant.<sup>46</sup>

Hutchins opposed Lillie because he believed that the arrangements under the new Bill would ultimately destroy the link between Church and State which he regarded as vital to the moral and religious welfare of the Colony. He had seen the Established Church work well, despite its undenied shortcomings, in difficult and uncomfortable

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid, p.13.

circumstances. He saw what Lillie and the Presbyterians were doing as serving no good purpose for the Christian Church or for the people to whom it ministered. What concerned him was not that other churches were receiving financial assistance, but that some were interpreting the legislation as anti-establishment, and that the Bill would therefore mark the beginning of the Church's decline in influence.

Lillie was stung into making another public statement.<sup>47</sup> He conceded that Sir George Grey's letter to Principal MacFarlane, the Convener of the General Assembly's Committee for Colonial churches, assured the Presbyterians of support only proportional to their numbers but argued nonetheless that this assurance placed the Church of Scotland on the same footing as the Church of England in relation to the State. In referring to the proportional support promised, Lillie made the bland comment, "this is what I have denominated...the distribution of equal support". He would not agree with Hutchins that Tasmanians were subject to the laws of England, arguing that the Colony was British not English, and that therefore the constitutional arrangements for Scotland applied to the Island. The Archdeacon's own position in the government and his responsibility as superintendent of schools indicates that Lillie was wrong in his judgement. In any case, he did not debate the issue but merely restated his opinion.

Similarly, Lillie did not debate but simply re-

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<sup>47</sup>Lillie, J., A Letter in Reply to the Observations made on the Preliminary Remarks (Hobart: W.G.Elliston, 1837.)

iterated his view that the granting of financial support to the three leading Ecclesiastical Bodies was sufficient proof that they were to be regarded as Established Churches, and he could not see that the co-existence of more than one established church was subversive of the principle. To Hutchins's claim that the principles of Romanism could never be shown to be consistent with a national establishment of religion as known in England, Lillie made no response. He continued to stress that membership of the Church of England was overstated, maintaining that people who claimed to be Anglicans were not necessarily so; according to Lillie many people in Van Diemen's Land really belonged to no church at all. In his opinion, the Census was not to be trusted because it was inaccurate. This reiteration of points already made added nothing to the debate on the Bill and missed the whole thrust of Hutchins's case for the maintenance of a single, secure, Established Church. Such a church would have the responsibility to care for everybody who was not specifically cared for by another denomination. It would also have the responsibility of acting as guardian of morals in society especially in areas of government, standing as a constant reminder to all citizens of their ultimate obligation to God. This concept did not mean that other churches might not receive some financial assistance; it did mean, however, that only one church should be recognised as having a special national responsibility and should be given the endowments to undertake this task. Hutchins believed that an established church as he understood it could be maintained if the Bill was amended in a way which would

avoid giving the impression that the tenets of every denomination were equally true and equally scriptural.

Lillie's reply was merely a reiteration of his position in a convoluted and glowing prose with no specific answers to the points put forward by the Arch-deacon. But his zeal and eloquence and his capacity for political intrigue were more influential than Hutchins's dry logic both with the press and with the Legislative Council. Lillie's lobbying technique is illustrated by an anecdote recorded in Kathleen Fitzpatrick's Sir John Franklin in Tasmania.<sup>48</sup> He went to the Governor to obtain a higher allowance, and threatened that if he did not get justice, the Presbyterians would withdraw their support from his government. Franklin told him that it was unbecoming in a minister of the Gospel to utter threats, and useless because the Governor would not be intimidated. Nevertheless there is some evidence that Franklin was wide open to influence if not to intimidation.

In his History of Tasmania, John West said that Hutchins held the principle of the Church Bill to be wholly untenable on Christian grounds, and that he cast the responsibility of a permanent establishment of the papal faith on to the members of the Scottish Communion.<sup>49</sup> This was certainly one of the consequences which Hutchins feared. John Wesley had said long before that no government which was not itself Roman Catholic ought to tolerate men of Roman persuasion.<sup>50</sup> Hutchins had grown up with the same

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<sup>48</sup>Fitzpatrick, Op.Cit., pp.102,103; c.f.Roe, Op.Cit. p.135, on the Presbyterians as a Political pressure group.

<sup>49</sup>West, Op.Cit., pp.166, 174.

<sup>50</sup>Wesley, John, A Letter in the Public Advertiser quoted in Overton, J., and Railton, F., History of the English Church, (London, McMillan 1906) p.216.

view, and he foresaw that the future under the proposed Bill would be extremely difficult. He realised that Lillie was settling for a present advantage at an unknown cost yet to be discovered. Lillie and the Presbyterians who supported him were fighting for the acquisition of property and status, so that they might exercise political muscle then and there. Hutchins was fighting, as his words show, for the retention of a Christian culture in which duty was more important than rights, obligations were prior to liberties, and the only real freedom was in religious obedience. He knew that the apotheosis of man with all his material desires would be done at the price of man's eventual downfall; therefore his controversy with Lillie and his opposition to the Bill were not just symptoms of a sectarian wrangle.

However, the press saw the debate in these terms<sup>51</sup> and a deep antipathy was engendered toward the Archdeacon, who was accused of ill feeling and was said to remind the editor of the Cornwall Chronicle of the lines:

The time shall come when Priestcraft shall be hurled  
Like a rank weed from every polish'd clime,  
And priests shall be the mockery of the world,  
As they have been its curse and cause of crime;  
The flag of superstition shall be furled  
And sink detested in the waves of time. <sup>52</sup>

The passing of the Bill was seen as the signal that controversy should end and the Archdeacon's power be diminished.<sup>53</sup> When it became clear that no major amendments would be introduced into the November session

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<sup>51</sup>Tasmanian 3, 10 November 1837.

<sup>52</sup>Cornwall Chronicle 9 December 1837

<sup>53</sup>Cornwall Chronicle 30 December 1837.



of the Legislative Council, Hutchins organised a Petition from the clergy protesting against the Bill and Chief Justice Pedder presented it at the session's opening.<sup>54</sup> Browne and Davies alone of the clergy did not sign, perhaps because they just did not get around to answering letters.

The terms of the Petition show clearly Hutchins's stance in respect of Church and State. While acknowledging that some of the objectionable details had been rectified, the Petition regretted that the Bill still embodied a false principle. A compromise of truth was involved because the Bill assumed that the sentiments of the Roman Catholic were equally entitled with those of the Protestant to the support of the Government, and indeed that every kind of Protestant sentiment was entitled to be supported irrespective of whether their beliefs were in conformity with the word of God.

In spite of the protest, the Council passed the Church Bill on the 27th November 1837 by nine votes to one.<sup>55</sup> The Act provided assistance for the building of churches and ministers' dwellings where a sufficient number of free persons over the age of fourteen, who were bona fide members of the denomination applying, indicated their intention to attend the church in question; a sufficient number was two hundred in Hobart or Launceston and eighty in the country unless the Governor in Council used his discretion to reduce the number to fifty. Three children

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<sup>54</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 24 November 1837.

<sup>55</sup>1 Vic 16 Acts and Ordinances of the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land, p.77.

over six were deemed to be equivalent to one adult. The government would match private subscriptions up to a maximum of one thousand pounds in the case of a stipendiary chaplain and up to seven hundred pounds for other ministers for church and dwelling. One sixteenth of church accommodation had to be free of pew rents. Three trustees had to be elected for every church or chapel assisted under the Act but wardens had only to be elected in churches belonging to the Churches of England, Scotland or Rome, and their general powers and responsibilities were laid down. When a church building had been completed by one of the three so-called major denominations the government would then pay a yearly salary of two hundred pounds. The Act protected the existing rights of ministers appointed under the old regulations, but no provision was made for a glebe to be added to the emoluments of other ministers. The Governor had power to refuse payment of salary to any minister who did not satisfy him that chaplain's duties had been properly carried out.

In the British legislation of 1828 and 1829, Roman Catholics and Non conformists had been granted the same freedoms. In Franklin's legislation the Church of Rome was given preferred status, a move that went beyond the terms of Glenelg's letter and a move which Hutchins believed could not be justified in principle. Anglican ministers were, under this Act, more vulnerable, and the way was now open to Franklin to dispose of the glebe lands which had been set aside for the endowment of the church so that he could boost the resources of the colonial treasury with the proceeds of the sale. The requirement that a church and dwelling should be completed before a stipend could

be paid was, as Hutchins pointed out, unsatisfactory in that a district would have no spiritual leadership to encourage the building of a church, and this provision was amended the following year.<sup>56</sup> By 1830 the Government had become less willing to fund the building of churches and Franklin was given discretionary power to refuse financial aid if in his opinion a church was not necessary.<sup>57</sup>

The success and popularity of Lillie, the reaction of the press to the Bill, and the opening of the Roman Catholic Church at Richmond in the presence of the Vicar General<sup>58</sup> were clear indications to Hutchins that the primacy of the Church of England was being challenged. Yet the position was by no means clear. Immediately after passing the Church Act, the Legislative Council debated how the Church of England should make its appointments and agreed to the following resolutions:-

1. When a church was built and endowed by a private person, that person would have the right of presentation.
2. When a church was built by private effort, the builder should present to the first vacancy and the Government and the Bishop should present alternately to every second vacancy.
3. These arrangements would apply to a person who endowed a church already built.

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<sup>56</sup>2 Vic 17, Acts and Ordinances of the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land, p.221.

<sup>57</sup>4 Vic 16, Acts and Ordinances of the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land p.487.

<sup>58</sup>Tasmanian, 15 Dec.1837, 29 Dec.1837; Cornwall Chronicle 2,9,30 Dec.1837; Hobart Town Courier, 22 December 1837; True Colonist 29 December 1837.

4. When the Government built a church, the Government and the Bishop would present alternately.
5. If the Government shared the cost of building a church with any person, that person should present to one vacancy and the Bishop and the Government alternately to every second vacancy.<sup>59</sup>

The Attorney General and the Colonial Treasurer quite properly dissented from the resolutions which could have no force in law and which seemed to interfere with the prerogative of the Queen. More significantly, Gregory pointed out that the passing of the resolutions seemed to give to the Church of England a pre-eminence which he thought the Act was intended to remove. He pointed out that the first four resolutions had nothing to do with the provisions of the Act, and argued that the Legislative Council had no right to direct either the Queen or the Bishop in the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage in the Colony. Here was an irony which demonstrated the ambivalent position in which the Archdeacon found himself; the Council having virtually disestablished the Church of England by passing the Act seemed to be attempting to establish it again by passing the resolutions.

Much has been written about the principle of religious equality which was enshrined in the Church Act but the resolutions placed the Anglican Church in a position quite different from other denominations who were free to make their own arrangements about appointments. The Legislative Council apparently still felt that it had

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<sup>59</sup>Legislative Council Minutes pp. 35, 36, 37, 38.

a role to play in the management of the Church of England though it made no attempt to interfere with the Catholic or Presbyterian organization; indeed Franklin had already been rebuked for seeming to meddle with the Presbyterian Constitution.<sup>60</sup> The feeling that there was a special relationship between the State and the Church of England continued through the decade. Wilmot and Denison, governors after Franklin believed that they had power to appoint convict chaplains without the approval or licence of the Bishop, thus exercising in the Anglican Communion an authority which was not claimed in respect of the other denominations. The Church Act did not clarify the relationship between the Colonial Government and the Established Church, however the legislation might have been interpreted by the radicals of the day. But the debate which accompanied it and the manner in which it was framed created a mood of hostility aggravated by self interest. The idea that the district chaplaincy, the Tasmanian equivalent of the English parish, could in practice be Anglican, Presbyterian or Catholic depending on the doctrinal persuasion of the majority of local residents, simply did not make sense. People began to think of a church as existing not for the community but only for the adherents of a particular denomination, much as a club house might be built for members of a particular club. In this context Anglicans were no different than Independents, Wesleyans or Baptists let alone the other grand divisions of Christianity.

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<sup>60</sup>Cornwall Chronicle 7 October 1837.

Hutchins had been a vigorous advocate for a national church because it existed for all people not only for regular churchgoers. As an Evangelical in the Cambridge tradition he saw the church as an institution not primarily for the converted but for the indifferent and the neglectful and especially for the young. The Parish priest had an obligation to the whole community because the community had an obligation toward God whether they admitted it or not. For this reason he had been busy throughout the months of debate raising money for church building from private sources in the island and through the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. He had already drawn up plans for churches in Launceston, Queenborough, Oatlands, Brighton, Ross, and Campbelltown.<sup>61</sup> In the face of Hutchins's busy involvement in the extension of the Church of England through both minister and school teacher,<sup>62</sup> it is difficult to know in what way the position of Anglicans was falling as its opponents gleefully declared.<sup>63</sup> The number of Anglican clergy was increasing together with the size of congregations, churches were being built, members of the Government still worshipped at St. David's, and the Archdeacon was a member of both the Executive and Legislative Councils. The Non-conformist historian of Tasmania, John West, who was close to the period, writes as if the Church of England

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<sup>61</sup>Hutchins to Henty, 4 July 1837; Hutchins to Whiteford 16 May 1837; Hutchins to Roper, 23 May 1837; Hutchins to Archer, 10 July 1837; L.B. pp.51f.

<sup>62</sup>c.f. Letter Book, pp.51-89.

<sup>63</sup>Tasmanian, 1 September 1837.



was generally accepted as the National Church until the interregnum of Colonel Snodgrass and the activities of Bourke in New South Wales encouraged the Presbyterians to press their claims.<sup>64</sup>

Franklin was himself an Anglican but of the extreme evangelical persuasion which regarded "Protestantism" as if it were a single denomination. He could see little difficulty in bringing into existence an Ecumenical arrangement provided that justice was done to the Catholics who, it was averred with unconscious irony, could not be expected to share in Protestant services.<sup>65</sup> Most of his Council appeared to agree with Franklin that church history was confined to a few years in the Sixteenth Century. The illogicality of this stance by men extolling freedom, tolerance and sectarian peace was little noted at the time and has not been noted since. Barrett has expressed surprise that the Courier, often a supporter of the Church of England, became active in opposition to the Church.<sup>66</sup> Barrett interprets such attacks as indicating wide support for the principles of the Bill, though it should be noted that the Courier itself did not approve the Bill.<sup>67</sup> Others too have suggested that the majority of the people in Van Diemen's Land were for freedom and tolerance while the Anglican clergy were self interested and reactionary. Little consideration has been given to the self interest which was delighted

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<sup>64</sup>West, Op.Cit. pp.149-157.

<sup>65</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 28 July, 1 December 1837.

<sup>66</sup>Barrett, Op.Cit. passim; Hobart Town Courier 14 April, 25 August, 5 September 1837.

<sup>67</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 8 December 1837.

to see the Government relieving the churchgoer of much of his financial responsibility and further saw the likelihood of acquiring cheaply the Glebe lands that would in the future be alienated from the Church of England.

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<sup>68</sup>C.S.O. 5/149/3705. Note: In a long letter to Franklin on the 31st December 1838, Hutchins expressed regret that the Governor was proposing to alienate Glebe lands as listed in an accompanying schedule in order to auction them for the colonial treasury. A letter from the Colonial Secretary in January 1839 and a further letter from Hutchins confirmed Franklin's intentions. On the 25th June 1841 Glebe lands were formally offered for auction, c.f. Hobart Town Gazette 1841, pp.477,527. The Gazette has Glebe lands listed for lease on the 5th December 1839 (p.1439) and there is also a list of lessees who were overdue with their rent. c.f. Hobart Town Gazette, 10 May 1839, p.460. The leases were clearly popular, and some well-known names appear in the schedule of lessees. In Parliamentary Papers 57 of 1857, 44 of 1858, and 46 of 1866, it can be discovered what land was left to the Church following the auctions and the comparison with Hutchins's letter and the Schedule of leases in December 1839 shows that close to 20,000 acres were lost. Because of the changes in procedure with regard to the registration of titles it is difficult to find out who purchased the church lands, but among those who benefited were probably: Richard Millhouse, a messenger in the Survey Department who became a carpenter and manufacturer. He purchased 400 acres of Glebe at Wellington, c.f. C.S.O., 50/25 1849, 50/27 1850, 50/28 1851; Survey Offices Ref. 3A/162 (1848) p.24.

W.M.J. Stretton who bought 400 acres at Sutherland c.f. Survey Office ref. P175 (1843)

G.F.R. Butler who bought 400 acres at Arundel, c.f. Survey Office ref. 1/3; Land Surveys Dept 1/18, p.52.

H.M. Howells, a policeman, bought 400 acres at Fortescue c.f. Survey Office ref. 1/147; C.S.O. 50/9, 1834, 50/10 1835.

W. Reason purchased 54 acres at Glenorchy and R. Cleburne made a similar purchase; Land Surveys Dept. 1/9 9-20. S.C. 285/146 (1841); S.C. 285/118 (1840); S.C. 285/346 (1848).

There is sufficient prima facie evidence to support the speculation that Franklin would have been strongly encouraged by commercial interests to take the Glebe lands from the church were they were not already firmly committed and offer them for general sale.

Hutchins soon came to realise that what was under threat was the principle of endowment through ownership of land. He knew that without endowments and without the special privileges of being established the influence of the Church of England at all levels of society would be greatly diminished. For the moment, however, it was still regarded by many as the national church, and in keeping with that status the Government did not afford it the absolute autonomy which the principle of religious equality would have demanded. Hutchins by no means relinquished his ideal of setting up in Van Diemen's Land a parochial system, and to this end he sought to preserve the vestiges of an establishment relationship. Meanwhile he turned his attention to the provisions of the new Act and directed his energy to making the best use of them.

## CHAPTER 9

### THE IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHURCH ACT

Even before the Act was passed there were signs that the competition for church supporters would be intense. In August Hutchins discovered that the Presbyterian minister, Dove, was trying to justify his presence in Oatlands on the basis of fictitious signatures, and the Governor was being misled by "deceit and falsehood" into considering a chaplaincy appointment, so the Archdeacon did not hesitate to recommend to Franklin that he take appropriate action.<sup>1</sup> When the Act was eventually passed in November there immediately resulted an unseemly rivalry because the first minister in the field would gather as many signatures as he could to indicate that he had the requisite congregation, knowing that failure to secure eighty names would probably mean no financial aid for a church building and no government stipend for a minister. Anglicans insisted that bona fide membership as required by the Act should be determined on the basis of the census; Presbyterians on the other hand, asserted the right of every person to adhere to whatever denomination he preferred at the time of signing. There were allegations of intrusion, of "sheep-stealing", and of falsification. Ecclesiastical and doctrinal arguments were lost in what became a political struggle for funds. Attempts to possess the ground led to the "marching and counter-marching of hostile forces".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 23 August 1837.

<sup>2</sup>West, Op.Cit. p.159.

After the passing of the Church Act Hutchins had of course to change his strategy in the battle to establish the Church of England among the colonists as the national church. It was no longer possible to persuade the Home government to appoint chaplains to newly settled districts, to raise funds with their help, and then ask the Colonial government to assist in the building of churches. Outside Hobart and Launceston eighty signatures had to be obtained before the wishes of any congregation could be attended to. Governor Arthur had asked for more chaplains in order that the moral and religious condition of the colonists could be improved. Franklin also expressed himself "desirous of promoting the improvement of the poor and convict population".<sup>3</sup> The implication was that chaplains were needed prior to any such improvement; it would be their task to implant in the mind an attachment to the Faith and to the Church which would lead the colonists to seek the permanent ministrations of a clergyman and the benefit of a permanent house of worship. The new Act, however assumed that the supposedly godless inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land would club together to provide the means for their own spiritual enlightenment.

Priority now had to be given to the building of churches and houses because no clergyman could be appointed under the Act before these were under way. Hutchins's first concern was the completion of church projects which had already been started. Secondly he had to find somebody in each likely district to undertake the task of

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<sup>3</sup>Annual Report, S.P.C.K., 1838, p.67.

making the requisition which the Church Act required. Thirdly, he had to check the legality of each requisition and arrange for all the necessary amendments to be made. Fourthly, in the case of churches which had recently been completed he had to bring them into the system required by the Act, and prepare them for consecration by the Bishop.

One effect of the new Act was immediately seen in the refusal of the Colonial Government to supply benches for the Anglican worshippers in Georgetown. Hutchins had to inform the churchwardens that furnishings which previously had been supplied by the government would now have to be paid for by the free inhabitants unless the accommodation was expressly for the convict part of the congregation. He wrote encouraging the people of Georgetown to requisition for a Church and a Minister. The reply being favourable he sent them the forms of requisition and explained the broad outline of 1 Vic. No.16, stressing the necessity of finding eighty free adult members of the Church of England residing within ten miles of the site for the proposed church.<sup>4</sup> In seeking aid for a church and a parsonage, the subscribers were required to sign their name, give their place of residence, indicate the amount promised and the amount paid up. In requisitioning for a minister's stipend name, residence, and distance from the proposed church site were to be stated.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Hutchins to Friend. 2 January 1838, L.B.p.198;  
Hutchins to Friend. 9 February 1838, L.B.p.216.

<sup>5</sup>Requisition forms, L.B. pp.195,196.



Heads of families having children under fourteen were entitled to an additional signature for every three such children. At least three hundred pounds had to be raised towards building costs before the government would provide any financial help, but not all of it had to be raised from the eighty or more subscribers.<sup>6</sup> In fact Hutchins was active in obtaining funds from the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. and from other donors - including the Bishop and himself.<sup>7</sup> As soon as the conditions were fulfilled the Colonial Treasury would advance a sum equivalent to the sum raised provided that sum was not more than a thousand pounds. When the church was built the Treasury would pay two hundred pounds a year for the support of a clergyman.<sup>8</sup> By September of 1838, Hutchins was in a position to request the Surveyor General to reserve sites in Georgetown for a church and a parsonage.<sup>9</sup> On October the 20th, the Executive Council approved the requisition and granted the money.<sup>10</sup> On November the 1st, the Archdeacon was able to report to the Governor that steps were under way for the erection of an Anglican Church in Georgetown.<sup>11</sup>

Not every instance was such plain sailing. In Oatlands Hutchins had already taken the initiative in December of 1837 by asking John Whitefoord to have the requisition forms filled in.<sup>12</sup> It was not until April

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<sup>6</sup>Hutchins to Friend, 9 February 1838. L.B. p.215.

<sup>7</sup>Hutchins to Gibbs, 14 March 1838. L.B.p.233.

<sup>8</sup>Hutchins to Friend, 9 February 1838. L.B. p.215.

<sup>9</sup>Hutchins to Surveyor-General, 14 Sept.1838, L.B.p.330.

<sup>10</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 20 October 1838.

<sup>11</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838. CSO 5/149/3705.

<sup>12</sup>Hutchins to Whitefoord, 19 Dec.1837. L.B. p.194.

1838 that a meeting was held to discover whether a sufficient number of Anglicans wanted a church.<sup>13</sup> By June, the subscription list had still not been forwarded even though it was clear that the inhabitants were ready to help in the financing of a ministry.<sup>14</sup> However in July, Hutchins was able to forward the requisition and have it approved by the Executive Council.<sup>15</sup> In the Council, the Archdeacon drew attention to the role of the Reverend Mr. Morris in mobilising support for the church, for one of the anomalies of the Church Act had been that a district could not obtain a minister until a church had been built. Oatlands had provided an example of what could be done when a minister was present prior to the building of a church. In this contract as in several others Hutchins was deeply interested, giving advice about plans and methods of building. He advocated economy provided it did not interfere with the quality of the building and he obtained from the Government the services of four tradesmen at the cost merely of their rations.<sup>16</sup>

In February, Hutchins wrote to Mr. Gardiner, an Anglican at Avoca, asking him to organise a requisition so that a full time ministry could be started in that district. Hutchins was aware that there were groups in Avoca who

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<sup>13</sup> Hutchins to Whitefoord, 10 April 1838, L.B. p.245; Hobart Town Courier, 23 March 1838.

<sup>14</sup> Hutchins to Whitefoord, 9 June 1838. L.B. p.281.

<sup>15</sup> Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 20 July 1838. L.B. p.307; Executive Council Minutes, 30 July 1838.

<sup>16</sup> Hutchins to Whitefoord, 10 April, 5 October 1838. L.B. pp.245, 338.

wanted their own denomination ministers, but he pointed out that the government would give no assistance unless "at least eighty persons of some one denomination" applied for it.<sup>17</sup> It was clear from the census that such a number could be found only among the Anglicans. Anyone who opposed the settling of a Church of England parson in Avoca should realise that he was probably opposing the settlement of any permanent clergyman. If for a while some folk were willing to support a minister of their own there was no guarantee that such support would be continued, and in a purely voluntary system permanence could not be assured. On the other hand by supporting at this time the settling of a Church of England clergyman with the financial aid of the government, people were not in any way preventing the advent of another minister in the future.

This curious letter to Gardiner suggests that there were some who, although baptised Anglicans, were more prepared to support a non-conformist minister than a clergyman of the established church. The Archdeacon, in a very guarded way, was seeking their signatures on a requisition form while conceding that on some future date they might rejoin an independent congregation if and when that became possible. The emphasis was upon the permanence of the parochial ministry; in Hutchins's view no clergyman should be dependent upon the whims of the folk to whom he was pastor.

Hutchins had some misgivings about Avoca for he wrote again in March in case Gardiner had not been able

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<sup>17</sup>Hutchins to Gardiner, 6 March 1838. L.B. p.230.

to obtain eighty subscribers or supporters.<sup>18</sup> He drew attention to the fact that the Legislative Council had the power to authorise the payment of a ministerial stipend on the request of fifty adults, should such a move be necessary. He would prefer however, that the inhabitants of Avoca should have a church as of right. Hutchins promised additional financial help but warned Gardiner to keep that to himself in case the less zealous might be hindered from giving generously. The outcome was that the required signatures and subscriptions were obtained by Gardiner and the Executive Council accepted the requisition on October the 10th.<sup>19</sup> Avoca was included in Hutchins's report to the Governor in November.<sup>20</sup>

At the same meeting the building of a church at Evandale was approved, and though there is no mention of it in the Council Minutes, Hutchins might well have reminded the Executive Council of the role of Freeman, the local clergyman, in gathering the necessary support. Early in January, Hutchins had reminded Freeman that under the new Act, he could not remain at Evandale without a requisition in compliance with the Act's provisions.<sup>21</sup> The Archdeacon asked Mr. Cox of Clarendon to take the initiative in the matter, sent the requisition forms to Freeman and suggested the two of them work together.<sup>22</sup> In August, Freeman was still in doubt over the nature of the form to be returned, for by that time it had become necessary for applicants

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<sup>18</sup>Hutchins to Gardiner, 6 March 1838, L.B.p.230.

<sup>19</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 10 October 1838.

<sup>20</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838. CSO 5/149/3705.

<sup>21</sup>Hutchins to Freeman, 2 January 1838. L.B.p.200.

<sup>22</sup>Hutchins to Freeman, 27 July 1838. L.B.p.224.

to declare themselves bona fide members of the denomination on whose behalf they were claiming aid; they had also to state their desire and intention to attend at the church for which they were requisitioning. Subscribers, other than the required eighty still did not have to be members of the congregation.<sup>23</sup> By November the formalities were completed and Freeman's position secured.<sup>24</sup>

At Westbury the church had already been started. Indeed Captain Moriarty and his friends were so enthusiastic that they went ahead with the project leaving the Archdeacon very much in the dark about their plans.<sup>25</sup> Since building had begun prior to the passing of the Church Act there was no problem about the financing of the construction. However the provisions of the new Act would have to be complied with in order that a stipend could be found and a minister appointed. The first requisition was received as early as February but it was incorrectly submitted and an amended form was not sent until September.<sup>26</sup> The inhabitants hoped that the Reverend John Bishton would be appointed straight away, but the Archdeacon pointed out that until he could get the Act amended no minister could be appointed until the church building was finished. The Executive Council approved the requisition in November.<sup>27</sup>

The congregation at Green Ponds was also required to requisition for a chaplain even though they had a church. This was a flourishing group to which the

<sup>23</sup>Hutchins to Freeman, 27 July 1838, L.B.p.224.

<sup>24</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838, CSO 5/149/3705.

<sup>25</sup>Hutchins to Moriarty, 13 Dec. 1837, L.B.p.191;  
9 Feb. 1838, p.216.

<sup>26</sup>Hutchins to Moriarty, 18 Sept. 1838, L.B.p.331.

<sup>27</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 3 November 1838.

Archdeacon himself had often ministered, and in 1838 Bishton was their minister. The size of the road parties stationed there led Hutchins to ask for a gallery to be fitted in the church so that the free inhabitants could be comfortably accommodated.<sup>28</sup> They had no difficulty in collecting eighty signatures and the three hundred pounds necessary under the Act.<sup>29</sup>

In Launceston, Hutchins's friend, William Henty, was active in raising funds for a second church, and Hutchins pointed out to him as to others, the need to complete the details of the requisition in accordance with the Act. He also observed that a second church was the only means of procuring a second clergyman in Launceston in order to provide some relief to Dr. Browne.<sup>30</sup> It was easier to raise the money than to collect the two hundred signatures required and the church was not approved by the Executive Council until May 1839.<sup>31</sup>

Following the generosity of a Mr. Kimberley, a site was procured for a church at Bagdad, and the required subscriptions were forthcoming. Here as in Launceston the collecting of signatures was more difficult than obtaining the money but Hutchins was optimistic on the outcome.<sup>32</sup> In contrast, the situation in Trinity Parish, Hobart, was more obscure. Hutchins seems to have been

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<sup>28</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 5 June 1838, L.B. p.279; Hutchins to Bishton, 9 November 1838, p.352, 14 December 1838, p.360.

<sup>29</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838. CSO 5/149/3705.

<sup>30</sup>Hutchins to Henty, 30 March 1838. L.B. p.238.

<sup>31</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838. CSO 5/149/3705; Hutchins to Henty, 31 May 1839, L.B. p.411.

<sup>32</sup>Hutchins to Kimberley, 17 July 1838; Hutchins to Cheyne, 18 July 1838, L.B. p.306; S.P.G. Annual Report 1838, p.56.



keen for the Parish to procure Government support in its own right rather than as part of the Penitentiary; to that end he encouraged the building of a new Trinity Church. The impression is given that Palmer, the incumbent, was apathetic, and progress was slow.<sup>33</sup>

Hutchins was keen also to place clergymen at Swanport, and Brown's River, and he approached Major Turner and the Reverend Mr. Gibbs to see if they would organise the requisitions that were necessary. Turner moved away from Swanport before much was achieved beyond the erection of a school house. His place was taken first by Captain Mainwaring and then by Lieutenant Bayly. The Church project in this district was delayed by the lack of continuity.<sup>34</sup> Mainwaring appears to have delegated the collecting of names to someone who was not aware that each adult had to provide his own signature. For that reason the Governor rejected the application which appears to have been sent directly to the Government rather than through the Archdeacon. Hutchins sent Bayly the correct form and asked him to see that it was properly filled in. He was in little doubt that the project would ultimately be successful.<sup>35</sup> Similar problems of continuity confronted Hutchins in his attempts to have a church built at

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<sup>33</sup>Hutchins to Palmer, 30 March 1838. L.B.p.239;  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 24 July 1838, p.309;  
S.P.G. Annual Report 1839, p.56.

<sup>34</sup>Hutchins to Turner, 9 February 1838, L.B.p.216;  
Hutchins to Gibbs, 27 February 1838, L.B.p.226;  
Hutchins to Mainwaring, 6 April 1838, L.B.p.244;  
Hutchins to Bayly, 23 September 1838, p.334.

<sup>35</sup>Hutchins to Bayly, 25 September 1838, L.B.p.334;  
S.P.G. Annual Report 1839, p.56.

Brown's River. Gibbs was pessimistic about finding eighty supporters and three hundred pounds despite the warm encouragement he received from the Archdeacon.<sup>36</sup> Then Gibbs planned to leave, and the organising task was handed over to Mr. Manley, though Gibbs still took some initiative in the proceedings. There was uncertainty in the district about where the church should be sited, and Hutchins was not happy with the compromise solution. However there were hopeful signs. At a public meeting chaired by Gibbs at Blackman's Bay, Mr. Baynton offered five acres of excellent land for a site, and the hope was expressed that since the project was "under the auspices of our much esteemed Archdeacon" the neglected district would soon have the benefit of sound religious instruction. Unfortunately the first attempt at supplying a requisition in compliance with the Act failed.<sup>37</sup> Kingborough like Swanport had to wait until 1839.

Nor was Hutchins successful in obtaining a valid requisition for Bothwell; he found that the signatures on the first list were not those of the people themselves but were placed there by others.<sup>38</sup> It is the one example where the evidence points to a carelessness bordering on cheating. But Hutchins would have none of it and painstakingly set about gathering a list which complied with the Act. Perhaps he realised that the Bothwell dispute

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<sup>36</sup>Hutchins to Gibbs, 6 March 1838; 14 March 1838, L.B. pp. 229, 233. Note: Brown's River is now Kingston.

<sup>37</sup>Hutchins to Gibbs, 20 April 1838; 22 May 1838, L.B. pp. 251, 270; 1 June 1838, L.B. p. 275; Hobart Town Courier, 1 June 1838; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 24 July 1838, L.B. p. 307.

<sup>38</sup>Hutchins to Schaw, 8 May 1838, L.B. p. 268.

would not be solved easily or quickly. While he supported Mayers in his confrontations with Garrett there was a note of unease in Hutchins's correspondence with the man who should have been active in mustering the Anglicans in and around Bothwell, but who instead was passive and pessimistic.

By the end of 1838, despite all the setbacks, Hutchins was confident of adding eighteen parishes to the six already existing, complete with minister, church and parsonage.<sup>39</sup> It was not all his own achievement but there is no doubt that he was the driving force behind those who worked towards Hutchins's objective of a parochial ministry serving all districts and all people. The passing of the Church Act had compelled Hutchins to alter his strategy in the fight to provide churches. It also brought in its wake many personal problems for his clergy. Many of them were faced with a decrease in emoluments which some could cope with better than others.<sup>40</sup> Many were worried about the implications of an Act which they did not fully understand. Three were insecure in their tenure; two were sick. Several had queries arising from the Act which they expected the Archdeacon to solve.

In January Dr. Browne discovered, as did Palmer and Garrard, that the new Act affected the position of gravediggers. The government no longer paid their wages

<sup>39</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838. CSO 5/149/3705.

<sup>40</sup>c.f. Hutchins to Gorringe, 13 July 1838, L.B.p.305.

nor supplied rations, but the military still expected convicts and military personnel to be buried without charge, or as an alternative the military would supply their own labour. Hutchins urged that the Churchwardens employ their own gravedigger, deny the right of the Government to intervene, fix the charges, and expect the Government to pay. Otherwise the job under the new Act would become even less desirable than it already was. At Trinity the situation was complicated by the fact that while other officials of the Church were paid by the Government as servants of the penitentiary the gravedigger was remunerated simply by burial fees. Here as in Launceston and New Norfolk, Hutchins had to fight to avoid the Government setting aside part of the burial grounds for its own use. Even in this small matter he was determined that the ministry of the Church should be properly respected; and he made the point, albeit mildly, that if the church was to depend on congregational support then the Government should not deprive it of legitimate income.<sup>41</sup> Hutchins also reminded Browne that adequate fees should be charged for burial plots and that no one should be allowed to monopolise the space available.<sup>42</sup> Browne had a similar wages problem with his parish clerk. Early in January he had sought clarification about the payment of salaries to his parish clerk and sexton. Particularly he wanted an allowance from the Government in respect of visits to the gaol. However in the

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<sup>41</sup> Hutchins to Browne, 2 January 1838, L.B.p.200;  
Hutchins to Garrard, 24 January 1838, L.B.p.207;  
Palmer to Archdeacon, 29 March 1838, CSO 5/109/2446;  
Hutchins to Palmer, 30 March 1838, L.B.p.239;  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 4 June 1838, L.B.p.277.

<sup>42</sup> Hutchins to Browne, 2 January 1838, L.B.p.203.

Executive Council Hutchins found no support, probably because the attendance of the clerk at the gaol was thought to be unnecessary.<sup>43</sup> At Trinity on the other hand, where Palmer had a responsibility to the Gaol similar to that of Browne in Launceston, the Parish Clerk received a salary of forty pounds a year from the Convict Department, the Governor deciding that Trinity did not come under the operation of the Church Act.<sup>44</sup> Such an anomaly Hutchins would not have found easy to explain to a man already under strain, as Browne was. He had found people trespassing on his property and stealing gravel; in retaliation he ordered the offender's cartwheel to be cut and so found himself in court. He was attacked in the Cornwall Chronicle over this matter, over the poor timekeeping of the church clock, and over his efforts to obtain his secondary land grant. He was also accused of receiving burial fees illegally and of being a police informer.<sup>45</sup> In the first three months of 1838 there was such a barrage of abuse that Browne considered proceeding against the editor and Hutchins had to persuade him not to do so.<sup>46</sup>

The shortage of funds which led the churchwardens of St. John's not to regulate the clock also led them to seek an increase in pew rents which they were empowered to do under the Church Act. To help achieve this end they

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<sup>43</sup>Browne, W.H., Journal, Op.Cit., 1 January 1838;  
Executive Council Minutes, 14 February 1838;  
Hutchins to Browne, 27 February 1838, L.B.p.225.

<sup>44</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 15 March 1838;  
Hutchins to Palmer, 30 March 1838, L.B.p.239.

<sup>45</sup>Browne, W.H., Journal, Op.Cit., 5 January 1838;  
Cornwall Chronicle, 24 March 1838;  
Cornwall Chronicle, 6 Jan., 27 Jan., 10 Feb., 24 March,  
31 March 1838.

<sup>46</sup>Hutchins to Browne, 3 April 1838, L.B.p.242.

planned to charge the military for sittings in Church and they divided Dr. Browne's own pew in half, to which action he seems to have responded by having one of his family sit beside him at the reading desk. Hutchins was able to use his diplomacy to deal with these problems, and restore amity between the Vicar and his Wardens. However he had to inform Browne that his allowances would be cut and that the Government would no longer supply him with a residence. In August, Browne had a nasty accident on his horse while crossing a narrow, temporary bridge and he seems to have been quite ill for some weeks. Hutchins rode up to Launceston and stayed with the Hentys for a week, assisting Browne and doubtless trying to resolve some of his personal difficulties. His visit appears to have had a good effect.<sup>47</sup>

The troubles in the north were not yet over though the next incident did not have its source in the Church Act. Lieutenant Matthew Curling Friend, residing magistrate and Port Officer for Georgetown, was a friend of Browne's, a sound Anglican, and the leader of those trying to produce a requisition for a church in that district. Friend was constantly under attack in the press for his conduct in both of his jobs, and the scurrilous abuse to which he

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<sup>47</sup>Hutchins to Browne, 1 June 1838; Hutchins to Ryan  
Hutchins to Henty, 9 June 1838, L.B. pp. 273, 280, 281; Cornwall Chronicle, 21 July 1838;  
Hutchins to Henty, 9 June 1838; Hutchins to Anderson, Prior, Henty, 15 June 1838, L.B. 281, 285;  
Hutchins to Browne, 20 June 1838. 3 Letters pp. 293, 295;  
10 July 1838, p. 303;  
Cornwall Chronicle, 4 August 1838; Hutchins to Browne, 11 September 1838, L.B. p. 323;  
Browne, W.H., Journal, Op.Cit., 1 September 1838;  
Browne, W.H., Journal, Op.Cit., 24 August - Sept. 1838.



was unfairly subjected was even more intense than that heaped upon Browne. At the end of September Mrs. Friend died, and Browne, in a dramatic sermon, charged the editor of the Chronicle with her murder, not it would seem without some justification. The sermon certainly did not increase support for the Established Church.<sup>48</sup>

Mayers of Hamilton gave the Archdeacon as much concern as Browne. The passing of the Church Act had significantly altered the terms and conditions of his service. It appeared that Governor Arthur had informed Lord Glenelg that more chaplains were needed and requested that they be appointed under the old regulations. The Secretary of State had agreed on condition that when the new Act came into force the new chaplains should come under the provisions of that Act. Neither the Bishop nor the Legislative Council seems to have been aware that the terms, under which men in Mayers's position had been sent out to the colony, would be altered to their detriment when the Church Act was passed. Not surprisingly Mayers was sick for much of the year, so that even if he had had the heart to do battle for the Anglicans in Bothwell he was not in the physical condition to do so.<sup>49</sup> His inability or unwillingness to perform his duties, especially at Bothwell, did not increase his popularity. Mayers's financial situation was clearly worsened by the provisions of the new Act. In 1837 he enjoyed a total stipend of four hundred and fifty seven pounds out of which he had

<sup>48</sup> Cornwall Chronicle, 4 August, 1838.

<sup>49</sup> Hutchins to Mayers, 3 Aug. 1838, L.B.p. 314;  
Hutchins to Aislalie, 11 September 1838, p. 325;  
Hutchins to Morris, 4 December 1838, p. 357;  
Hutchins to Mayers, 31 January 1838, p. 208;  
16 October 1838, p. 343; Hutchins to Dr. Dernier  
19 April, 1838, p. 250.

to find rent and forage. He now found himself only entitled to two hundred pounds from the government which would in any case be dependent upon a sufficient number of people signing a requisition. After much negotiation by the Archdeacon the Government granted the paltry sum of thirty pounds as rent allowance. In March the Governor himself granted Mayers a house allowance of fifty pounds, half what he had been getting, on condition that he would repay it should the Legislative Council not approve; a temporary forage allowance was also paid when the Archdeacon pointed out that Mayers could not fulfil his responsibilities without a horse. This was all the more true if Mayers was expected to travel from Hamilton to Bothwell in order to conduct services there. With 'considerable difficulty' Hutchins obtained approval for the former allowance of one guinea a trip to be paid, and there was no hope that this very modest sum would be increased, despite Mayers's pleas.<sup>50</sup>

The Church Act had stipulated that a church and a parsonage should be erected before a clergyman could receive a government stipend. There was a proviso that a house already built, if made available to the clergyman, would satisfy the Act's provisions. Mayers argued that since the Government was responsible for his being at Hamilton it should provide him with accommodation.

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<sup>50</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 16 February 1838, p.219; Hutchins to Mayers, 29 June 1838, p.299; Executive Council Minutes, 28 April, 25 June 1838; Blue Book, 1837; Hutchins to Mayers, 2 March 1838, p.227; Executive Council Minutes, 15 March 1838; Hutchins to Mayers, 27 March 1838, 26 June 1838, pp.237, 292.

Since he had been, and was currently, in receipt of a salary from the Government, he maintained that he must be supplied with a house so that the Act was complied with. The Archdeacon had to inform Mayers that the Act merely authorised the Government to advance up to three hundred pounds for a residence after the local people had raised a like amount; the Government had no power to make the congregation subscribe to this end. Furthermore he had to tell Mayers that until a requisition had been forwarded from Hamilton there could be no more security of tenure there than at Bothwell for a resident clergyman.. It was cold comfort to learn that the residents of Oatlands had found a house for Morris. Hutchins promised to do all he could to obtain a house for Mayers free of charge but he could not locate Mayers in another district without the consent of the Bishop.<sup>51</sup> Apart from the fact that the Governor had, in the opinion of the Archdeacon, no authority to interfere with the Bishop's licence, there was no district available in which the housing position was any better, or in which there already existed a church.. Hutchins told Mayers that if such a district emerged before the people of Hamilton had fulfilled their responsibilities under the new Act he would consider moving him to another station. However he reminded Mayers that the cost of moving might outweigh the advantages.

Here then, as a direct result of the Church Act, was a man whose salary had been halved and security of tenure jeopardized. Little wonder that Mayers was sick, embittered and obstinate. He sought without success to

<sup>51</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 12 October 1838, p.342; Hutchins to Mayers, 29 June 1838, p.299; Hutchins to Mayers, 12 October 1838, p.342; Hutchins to Mayers, 9 October, 1838, p. 340.

appear in person before the Council; he failed too in his effort to embroil the Archdeacon in a personal feud with one of his parishioners.<sup>52</sup> What made the situation more critical from Hutchins's point of view was the fact that the incumbent of Hamilton was the Anglican representative involved in the delicate negotiations concerning the Church at Bothwell, and he could have no confidence that Mayers was an effective ambassador for the Church of England in that district. One of the curiosities of the debate on the Church Act was that no mention was made of the injustices that would be done to some existing incumbents. Either the framers of the Bill had no knowledge of what these outcomes would be or knowing them they kept quiet about them.

In January the Presbyterian managers of the Bothwell Church were advertising for applicants who wanted to occupy pews and purchase individual sittings.<sup>53</sup> In this way they could perhaps make it more difficult for anyone trying to obtain signatures for an Anglican requisition, since a family might consider their payment to the managers gave them sufficient stake in the church building whether or not they were bona fide members of the Church of England. Churchwarden Schaw found it as hard to complete a valid requisition for Bothwell as Marsetti did for Hamilton. Arrangements obviously had to be changed if the claim was to be substantiated that the

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<sup>52</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 12 Oct., 16 Oct., 9 Nov., 28 Dec., 1838, pp.342,343,352,264;

Hutchins to Neill, 17 October, 23 October, 1838, pp.344,346; Hutchins to Mayers, 28 December 1838, p. 364.

<sup>53</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 12 January 1838.

church at Bothwell belonged to the Anglicans. The Presbyterians acted as though the building belonged to them and the Bishop was anxious that the Governor should clarify the legal position. If, however, Mayers could not demonstrate that there was the measure of Anglican support which the Church Act specified it was unlikely that the Governor would act decisively and in doing so risk Presbyterian hostility. The new Act seemed to imply one church, one parsonage, and one minister; Garrett, the Presbyterian minister lived in a house on the spot and could muster no doubt, the support which had been laid down under the Act. But Hutchins had seen the Solicitor General's opinion on the ownership question and he was not prepared to give up what he regarded as a legitimate claim. What was needed was an Anglican clergyman in the district who would quietly persist in protecting the interests of the Church of England.<sup>54</sup>

Mayers was not such a man. On the contrary he was easily provoked by individuals and by the press. He made little attempt to get on with Garrett, and while that individual was not free from blame, there was some excuse for his curtness when Mayers gave inadequate notice of intended services at Bothwell. Hutchins found that the right of precedence which the Government had

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<sup>54</sup>Hutchins to Schaw, L.B. 3 April, 8 May 1838;  
Hutchins to Marsetti 1 May 1838;  
Broughton to Franklin, 25 May 1838, CSO 5/49 and  
50/1059; Hutchins to Mayers, 10 July 1838,  
L.B.p.303; Broughton to Franklin, 25 May 1838,  
CSO 5/49 and 50/1059; Hutchins to Mayers, 4 Dec.,  
1838, L.B. P.356.

conceded to the Anglicans was being eroded by Mayers's incompetence and irregularity.<sup>55</sup> Setting up a parish in Bothwell was more difficult at the end of 1838 than it had been before the passing of the Church Act.

In Oatlands progress was encouraging even though Morris had problems similar to those of Mayers. In some respects he was worse off for not only were his emoluments reduced under the new arrangements but he had no church and he had to leave his residence. To assist him, Hutchins worked hard to obtain for him the rent of the Glebe which under the old regulations should have been his. After lengthy discussion the right was granted and Morris was so informed only to find that the Glebe had not been leased and there was therefore no money available. However the inhabitants of Oatlands under the leadership of Whitefoord provided the requisition which gave Morris status under the Act and the church contract went ahead.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 19 June 1838, 22 June 1838, 26 June 1838; Hutchins to Garrett, 29 June 1838, L.B. pp.288, 290, 292, 299.

<sup>56</sup>Hutchins to Morris, 27 February, 2 March, 26 June, 3 August 1838, L.B. pp.222, 227, 294, 314; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 16 February 1838, p.219; Hutchins to Schaw, L.B. 3 April 1838, p.241; Hutchins to Whitefoord, 9 June 1838, L.B. p.281; Hutchins to Morris, 19 October, 13 November 1838, L.B. pp.345, 354; Hutchins to Moore, Collector of Internal Revenue, 8 November 1838, L.B. p.351; Executive Council Minutes, 15 March, 10 October 1838; Hutchins to Whitefoord, 10 April, L.B., 9 June, 5 October 1838, L.B. pp.246, 281, 339; Hutchins to Forster, 13 November 1839, L.B. p.353; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 20 July 1838, L.B. p.307.



Perhaps the thought that the Anglican people of Bothwell wanted to make him their resident pastor stirred the people of Oatlands to action. Despite the confidence shown in him by the people and by the Bishop who ordained him priest in May, Morris like Mayers, was disillusioned by the way in which the government had treated him and began to think of returning to England.<sup>57</sup>

The third minister whose legal position was changed by the passing of the Church Act was Aislabie of Richmond. He claimed that he applied for a chaplaincy under the old regulations and had been appointed prior to the passing of the Church Act. He further claimed that he filled a vacancy in the establishment caused by the death of Dr. Drought who had been briefly stationed at Green Ponds and that he was appointed on the same terms as other chaplains by Governor Arthur. Aislabie added that he had paid his own travelling expenses to the Colony and therefore had saved the government the cost of a passage: that he had performed clerical duties in the Colony gratuitously for six months prior to his appointment: that he had the highest testimonials from the people of Richmond among whom he worked: and that Governor Arthur had assured him that whatever new arrangements should be brought in he had the right to remain on the same footing as the older chaplains.<sup>58</sup>

Whatever had been the fate of Morris and Mayers following the passage of the Church Act, Aislabie must have felt that he had a good case. But the parsimony of the

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<sup>57</sup>c.f. Hutchins to Schaw, 3 April, 1838. L.B. p.241;  
Hutchins to Morris, 4 December, 1838, L.B. p.357.

<sup>58</sup>Hutchins to Aislabie, 11 September 1838. L.B. p.325.

home government was not to be gainsaid. Glenelg insisted that no appointment was valid until it had been approved by the Secretary of State and that Aislabie's appointment had not been approved by him until instructions had been given concerning the future of the Church in Van Diemen's Land. He affirmed that no Secretary of State could be fettered by the interpretation of a Colonial Governor, and concluded that Aislabie was bound to conform to the precise terms of the new Act. Furthermore Aislabie had to refund money paid to him since the passing of the Act over and above the sum laid down in the Act. The best he could hope for was a payment in respect of services rendered gratuitously prior to his appointment by Governor Arthur. The meanness which reduced Aislabie's income increased his workload; the resignation of the catechist at Grass Tree Hill as a consequence of the Church Act meant that Aislabie had to conduct an extra service.<sup>59</sup>

The principle that congregations should share costs with the government affected every clergyman. Bedford Junior whose district at Campbelltown was building a church had no parsonage as yet and was in receipt of a hundred pounds a year in lieu of a house; this was now reduced to sixty pounds.<sup>60</sup> Bedford Senior and Palmer lost the forage allowance.<sup>61</sup> Church registers and surplices were no longer to be supplied by the government and presumably

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid; Hutchins to Aislabie, 11 Sept., 1838, L.B.p.325;  
Hutchins to Aislabie, 14 Sept. 1838, L.B.p.329;  
Hutchins to Aislabie, 6 Mar., 27 Mar., 1838,  
L.B. pp.228, 236.

<sup>60</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Jr., 22 June 1838, L.B.p.289.

<sup>61</sup>Hutchins to Palmer, 26 June 1838; Hutchins to Bedford Senior, 26 June 1838, L.B.p.293.

other items of furniture and fittings would have to be purchased in the future by the churchwardens.<sup>62</sup> The withdrawal of the Government from the former procedures by which support was given to the church seems to have had the effect of making government funds generally harder to come by. Bedford Junior could not obtain a glebe allowance; Davies was not allowed to lease his glebe for more than a year at a time, which must have made the transaction extremely difficult; the supply of government money for Longford church dried up.<sup>63</sup>

The rights and powers of the trustees of church property were not made clear under the Act which Hutchins called "a very crude production", and the Archdeacon had to inform Norman at Sorell that only another Act would clarify the situation.<sup>64</sup> With this in mind perhaps and faced with the need to regularize the temporal affairs of the church, Hutchins made plans to introduce another Bill into the second session of the Council.<sup>65</sup>

Fair progress was made in 1838 with the building of churches, focal points for the wide parish ministry towards which Hutchins was working. However he had some difficulty in maintaining the morale of his clergy in the face of Franklin's timid and vacillating interpretation

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<sup>62</sup>Hutchins to Garrard, 6 July 1838, L.B.p.301;  
Hutchins to Martyn, 14 August 1838, L.B.p.320.

<sup>63</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 22 June 1838, L.B.p.289;  
Hutchins to Davies, 5 October 1838, L.B. p.339;  
Hutchins to Davies, 28 December 1838, L.B.p.355;  
Executive Council Minutes, 4 December 1838.

<sup>64</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, 4 December 1838, L.B.p.356;  
Hutchins to Norman, 6 March 1838, L.B.p.231.

<sup>65</sup>Hutchins to Crown Solicitor, 27 June 1838, L.B.p.296;  
c.f. Archdeacon Scott's statement to churchwardens  
of St.David's, Diocesan Registry, p.36. NS373/241;  
Executive Council Minutes, 25 June 1838.

of the new arrangements. It would also not be easy to attract to the colony the ten additional clergymen whom the Archdeacon was seeking in order that every sizeable station should be occupied.<sup>66</sup> Hutchins's strategy was simple: to use the terms of the Church Act with all possible vigour so that in fact if not in law, the Church of England was the Established Church of the Colony. No doubt he expected that the visit of Bishop Broughton which he was already looking for in January<sup>67</sup> would strengthen his hand, convince any waverers, and influence the government to be more sympathetic to the needs of the Church.

It has been suggested that the Church Act was beneficial to the Church of England in Van Diemen's Land in that it enabled churches to be built that might not otherwise have been erected.<sup>68</sup> Such a view does less than justice to the policy of Governor Arthur and to the initiative of the Archdeacon. In each of the eighteen districts mentioned by Hutchins in a letter to Franklin<sup>69</sup> there was existing an active ministry and it had already been planned to build churches where necessary. The Bishop's visit in April and May of 1838 revealed how much had been achieved and how much was in train. From Hutchins's viewpoint the Church Act meant that money for building was harder to obtain than it had been. At the same time it was necessary for him to make undue haste with his

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<sup>66</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838, CSO 5/149/3705.

<sup>67</sup>Hutchins to Friend, 2 January 1838, L.B. p.198.

<sup>68</sup>c.f. Barrett, John, That Better Country (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966) p.42 and note 37.

<sup>69</sup>Hutchins to Franklin, 1 November 1838, CSO 5/149/3705.

arrangements before some competing authority obtained the available signatures on a requisition.<sup>70</sup> He also realised that eventually the exigencies of the financial situation would lead the government to question the need of a second church in a single district.<sup>71</sup> This made it doubly important for the Archdeacon to take urgent action.

The Church Acts in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have been seen by some as important landmarks in the history of religious equality and tolerance.<sup>72</sup> In Van Diemen's Land the Act marked the beginning rather than the end of controversy, for the church leaders - other than Hutchins - were slow to act and not so competent as he was in fulfilling the requirements of the new law. According to West,<sup>73</sup> opposing parties "represented each other in terms full of reproach and bitterness; imputations of sectarianism, intrusion, kidnapping, were the common forms of recrimination".

In 1838 the Presbyterians managed to complete only one requisition; a church for Evandale was approved by the Executive Council on the 18th October. However no ministerial appointment there, was approved. Attempts to increase the allowances of Garrett and Mackersey were unsuccessful, and the future of Dove remained undecided at the end of the year. One achievement was an increase

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<sup>70</sup>West, Op.Cit., p.159.

<sup>71</sup>5 Vic 9 of 1830, made it possible for the Governor to refuse payment if in his opinion another church was not required.

<sup>72</sup>c.f. Roe, Op.Cit., p.134; Barrett, John, Op.Cit. p.41.

<sup>73</sup>West, Op.Cit., p.159.

of salary and allowances for John Lillie. A reason for Presbyterian dilatoriness may have been Lillie's pre-occupation with public debate.<sup>74</sup>

The Wesleyans, omitted from most provisions of the Act, first tried to obtain assistance for a school and then applied for aid to build a second chapel in Hobart.<sup>75</sup> This application was opposed by Hutchins in the Executive Council on the ground that the existing chapel was big enough to hold all the Wesleyans in Hobart. He was aware that the roof had been categorized as unsafe but found that although it was said to be unsafe for a congregation to sit under, it was considered "quite safe enough for a couple of hundred of children to be assembled under". In the Archdeacon's view it was a trick to get a schoolroom, a facility that was denied to other churches. Moreover the lists had been cunningly devised to defeat the Act. The request was therefore only partially successful and the Wesleyans had to be content with a loan. The Baptists were no more fortunate. The requisition from the Reverend Mr. Dowling was not in accordance with the Church Act and was rejected by the Executive Council.<sup>76</sup>

The Roman Catholics made only one application for building funds in 1838 and that was unsuccessful. Father Conolly was replaced by Father Watkins who proved not a good administrator, and he was in turn replaced by Father

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<sup>74</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 18 Oct. 1838; 11 Dec. 1838; Executive Council Minutes, 15 Mar., 17 May, 30 July, 11 December 1838; Executive Council Minutes 19 June, 30 July 1838; Franklin to Glenelg, 5 October 1838; Lillie to Colonial Sec., 30 May 1838, CSO 5/2660.

<sup>75</sup>Orton to Colonial Sec., 18 April 1838, CSO 5/1843; Executive Council Minutes, 21, 30 May 1838.

<sup>76</sup>Executive Council Min., 4 Dec. 1838; Franklin to Glenelg, 30 Nov., 1838. 29/D/150/874, A.O.T.; Executive Council M. 10 Oct. 1838.



Therry who arrived from New South Wales in April 1838. Therry's application for a stipend was twice deferred and then refused as was Father Cotham's. It was not until November that the correct procedures were carried out and Therry's position as Vicar General was recognised; Cotham's application was returned on a technicality.<sup>77</sup> Similarly the requisition for a Hobart Catholic Church which came before the Executive Council in December was opposed because it did not conform with the provisions of the Church Act.<sup>78</sup>

There seems little doubt that Hutchins's seat on the Executive Council gave him an advantage in interpreting and complying with the requirements of the Church Act. He also had the opportunity to ensure that the requisitions of other denominations were not accepted if they had not been completed correctly. Whatever his opponents might have thought about the Archdeacon's privileged position, he would have had no qualms in seeking for the Church of England the funding that would enable it to accomplish the "national" task which Hutchins considered its peculiar responsibility. Hutchins had fourteen clergy to care for thirty thousand Anglicans, half of whom were free inhabitants. The Presbyterians had five clergy to care for three and a half thousand; the Catholics had three priests for a similar number; and the Wesleyans had six ministers for two thousand.<sup>79</sup>

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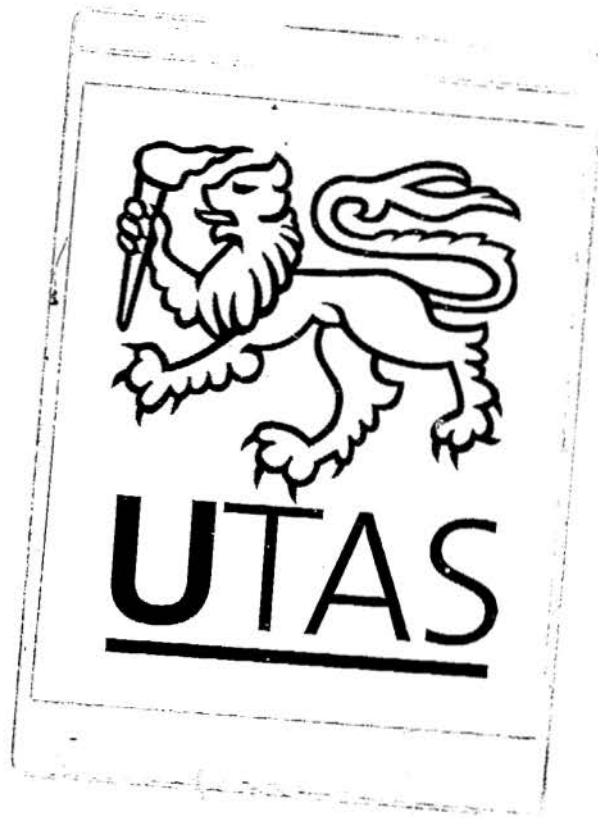
<sup>77</sup>O'Brien, Eris.M., Life of Archpriest Therry (Melbourne: Angus and Robertson, 1922) p.196;

Ibid, p.197; Executive Council Minutes, 30 July, 25 August, 24 September 1838; Executive Council Minutes, 3, 14 November 1838.

<sup>78</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 11 December 1838.

<sup>79</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 29 June 1838.

He could reasonably argue that the vast extent of the work facing him justified all the aid which he was requesting. On the other hand, his opponents, observing his success compared with their own slow progress and linking it with his privileged position in the government, would have been resentful and hostile. The violence of that hostility had yet to be revealed, but it was already clear that the passing of the Church Act had so far done little for the cause of the dissenters, or for the cause of sectarian peace.



## CHAPTER 10

### FURTHER CONSEQUENCES OF PASSING THE CHURCH ACT

Seven months after the passing of the Church Act Hutchins raised the question of a second church act 'to regulate the temporal affairs of Churches and Chapels of the United Church of England and Ireland in Van Diemen's Land'.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of the Bill as presented to the Legislative Council was fivefold. It was to make provision for the appointment of Trustees and to provide successors to such Trustees. It was to empower such Trustees to accept any building fit to be used for, or converted into, a Church and also lands proper for a site for the house and garden of the Minister. It was to define the powers and duties of Trustees. It was to provide for the appointment and to define the powers and duties of Churchwardens. Finally, it was to authorise the subscribers in case they should deem it meet, in order to save the expense of appointing successive Trustees, to vest the property in the Archdeacon of the Colony for the time being for the same uses as it would have been conveyed to Trustees.<sup>2</sup>

A Bill similar in form had become law in New South Wales in September 1837 and had provided the basis of relationships between Bishop, clergy and congregations. It gave some protection to the incumbent from the trustees and from the government, but made him vulnerable to the

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<sup>1</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 25 June 1838; Hutchins to Crown Solicitor, 27 June 1838, L.B. p.296.

<sup>2</sup>Hobart Town Gazette, 18 October 1838.

whims of the Bishop.<sup>3</sup> Under the New South Wales Act the Bishop could license clergymen and revoke licences at will, subject only to an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Metropolitan; the Bishop could also move clergymen as he saw fit. There was therefore no security of tenure for an incumbent, particularly if he acted in a way to displease his Bishop. But the chaplains of Van Diemen's Land were crown appointments and Hutchins would have been anxious to frame a Bill which would recognise the role of both Church and State.

The fact that the Executive Council approved the heads of the Bill was an encouraging sign. If the affairs of the Church of England were to be the subject of debate and decision in the Legislative Council, Hutchins's argument that the Church of England was in fact the Established Church was strengthened. Even though the controversy with the Presbyterians persisted into 1838, the Anglican position would appear to be confirmed by the State's readiness to participate in the regulations of that Church's temporal affairs.

Hutchins was aware that most people assumed that his was the Established Church. In the first thirty years of Australian colonization the only chaplains appointed had been Anglican, and they had supervised on behalf of the Government the only schools provided; there was a clear assumption that the Church of England was, in the colony as at home, the Established Church.<sup>4</sup> Governor Macquarie was zealous in protecting 'that estab-

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<sup>3</sup>c.f. Border, Ross, Church and State in Australia 1788-1872 (London SP.C.K. 1962) p. 97.

<sup>4</sup>Gregory, J.S. Church and State (Melbourne, Cassell, 1973) p. 7.

lished Uniformity of Worship'<sup>5</sup> and he deported Father O'Flynn no doubt to preserve "uniformity in matters of Religion".<sup>6</sup> Lord Bathurst supported this action and confirmed that O'Flynn had gone to the colony "without any permission or recommendation from His Majesty's Government".<sup>7</sup> Bathurst also authorised the Church and Schools Corporation which represented an attempt to give the Church of England an endowment similar to the one enjoyed in England.<sup>8</sup> Substantial grants of land were to be made so that adequate provision was available "for the establishment and support within our said Territory of the Protestant Reformed Religion as by law established in England and Ireland".<sup>9</sup> Royal Letters Patent made a similar provision for Van Diemen's Land where, instead of a Corporation being formed, trustees were appointed including the Chief Justice and the Colonial Secretary.<sup>10</sup>

Even after the Corporation had been abolished in New South Wales and the Bourke Act passed, there remained an assumption that the Church of England was the "Established Religion of the Empire",<sup>11</sup> and the provision of state aid to other denominations did not imply any deviation from such a viewpoint.<sup>12</sup> James Thomson, who sought in 1835 to argue that the Anglican Church was not an Established Church, had to admit that not only the clergy

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<sup>5</sup>H.R.A. Series I, Vol. VIII, p.337.

<sup>6</sup>H.R.A. Series 1, Vol. IX, p.801.

<sup>7</sup>H.R.N.S.W., Series 1, Vol. I Part 2, p.120.

<sup>8</sup>H.R.A. Series 1, Vol. XI, p.438.

<sup>9</sup>Border, Op.Cit., quotes from the Royal Instructions to the Governor, p.49.

<sup>10</sup>c.f. Royal Letters Patent of George IV in Diocesan Registry, A.O.T. NS 373/241.

<sup>11</sup>H.R.A. Series, 1, Vol. XXIII, p.351.

<sup>12</sup>c.f. Border, Op.Cit. p.56.

held the opinion that it was so established, but also the government and the community had the same view.<sup>13</sup> He argued that the situation in the colonies was different from the situation in England, and that in the absence of specific legislation there could be no Established Colonial Church; the use of any such style in warrants or letters patent was incorrect. However, Thomson recognised the favoured position which the Anglicans enjoyed and demanded a similar position for the Presbyterian Church on the grounds that the Act of Union gave the Scots equal rights with the English in matters of religion. He also recognised that financial support could be given to a denomination without necessarily conceding the status he was claiming. Thomson was not merely arguing for government support; he was arguing that a privileged position should be granted to the Scots Church as it had been to the English Church with all the benefits which might flow from the gaining of such a status.<sup>14</sup> In effect, Thomson argued that the Church of England was being treated as if it were established by law and it should not be treated in that way. His book, which was regarded as a devastating attack upon the Anglicans, really confirmed what was very widely assumed: whatever people might think about it, the Church of England was the Church of Australia. Border gives the opinion of three distinguished Judges of modern times to support this contention.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Thomson, James, Remarks on the Status of the Presbyterian Church in the British Colonies. (Hobart: H. Melville, 1835) p. 21.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, pp. 7, 27, 29, 41, 75, 89, 90.

<sup>15</sup> Border, Op. Cit. pp. 61, 62.



Paul Knaplund has agreed that after the American Revolution, the imperial government actively supported the Church of England overseas.<sup>16</sup> New bishoprics in the colonies received financial help. Bishops and Archdeacons had seats in Executive Councils and Legislatures by virtue of their office, while members of other denominations enjoyed no such privilege. This did not mean intolerance. There was religious toleration in the colonies, even to non-Christians like the Buddhists in Ceylon. Hutchins was part of this tradition; he was tolerant in the sense that he would not legislate to prevent people from practising the religion they wished to follow. However he was not indifferent to the truth, and he believed that his warrant as Archdeacon gave him a special responsibility to defend and advance what he saw as the "true church".

Hutchins's petition against the Church Act had stated:

Truth itself is to be sacrificed, and the Church of England is to be degraded and deprived of her privileges because Scotchmen will not be content unless their own Church may be placed upon a footing of the very strictest equality with that of England; and this, in a colony in which the latter has, from the very commencement of the colony's existence, been recognised by the government in all its Acts as the Established Church.<sup>17</sup>

The Archdeacon had not only to contend with the colonial government; a strong influence at home was sympathetic to "all Christian Societies" and was aware of the arguments of the Scotch Church that were founded on the Act of Union and of the "violent conflict" in which

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<sup>16</sup>Knaplund, Paul, James Stephen and the British Colonial System 1813-1847 (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1953) pp.134, 135.

<sup>17</sup>Hutchins, William, An Appeal to Members of the Legislative Council in Van Diemen's Land against the Church Act, August 12, 1837. Hutchins's Petition on Church Bill, p.261.7 APP Tas.Coll. 236.

they would engage to maintain their rights.<sup>18</sup> James Stephen, the permanent Under Secretary, regarded the state of the world as "very unfavourable to the maintenance of Exclusive Ecclesiastical pretensions" and he had anticipated the Thomson argument by some five years when commenting on the Lower Canada Act. In 1830 Stephen had said:

I have never met with an argument to countervail the simple statement that in Great Britain there are two Protestant established Churches bearing a relation of perfect equality to each other, and that the Canadas were not an English but a British conquest; that therefore there is not any ground on which in those Provinces a preference should be given to the Episcopalian, above the Presbyterian Church, and that consequently they must be treated on an equal footing.<sup>19</sup>

Hutchins however relied on his Letters Patent which made him Archdeacon of Van Diemen's Land "according to the Ecclesiastical laws of our Realm of England", and continued to exercise such privileges as remained to him. Meanwhile the controversy initiated by Lillie continued as James Stephen knew it would. In three editions of Murray's Review there were lengthy discussions of the correspondence between Hutchins and Lillie. The point was made that controversy in religious matters was not to be deplored as most of the press and the government deplored it. Without controversy there would have been no Reformation.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Knaplund, Op.Cit., p.139.

<sup>19</sup>Knaplund, Op.Cit., p.141.

<sup>20</sup>Murray's Review (The Austral Asiatic Review) 30 Jan., 13 Feb., 1838.

Hutchins would have commended this attitude for he believed that there were big issues at stake; but he would not have applauded the level of debate.

The Presbyterian reviewer - possibly James Thomson - boldly stated "the Church of England is not established at all" comparing the position in Van Diemen's Land with the position in the Cape of Good Hope where the Presbyterian Church was the Established Church "by law and by solemn pacton". The argument thus became clear: the Church of England was "established" in the sense that it enjoyed a special relationship with the state, but it was not "established" by law into the favourable position which it enjoyed. The Presbyterian Church claimed for itself all that the Anglicans claimed, not only on the grounds of the Act of Union but for two other reasons. First, the numbers "in full and actual communion" with the Church of Scotland were nearly equal to the numbers in communion with the Church of England. Secondly, whatever the count might be, allowance had to be made for "possessions, standing in society, influence, character",<sup>21</sup> - an unusual argument for a Christian apologist. The Anglican reviewer - perhaps John Gregory - made the point that the Church Act authorised payments to the Churches of Scotland and Rome in proportion to the support which those churches enjoyed, in accordance with instructions received from the home government. The question of Establishment remained "just where it always was and always will be".<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 20 February, 1838; 13 February, 1838.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 30 January 1838.

The inordinate length of these reviews shows the interest which the controversy generated. It leads to the question - why was there such deep feeling on this issue? Hutchins believed that the future of Christianity in Van Diemen's Land was bound up with the future of the National Church. He wanted Anglicanism to be the official religion of the State. He welcomed State intervention in Ecclesiastical affairs including the incorporation of the Church legal system into the legal system of the State. He accepted the privileges which attached to this relationship with the State because he accepted the obligations. These obligations included ministering to all the people in each parish, and bringing up the nation's children in the Christian faith. Unless one church and only one, had this responsibility then in time no church would have it, and other influences would take over the life of the nation.<sup>23</sup> For this reason the form of the Letters Patent appointing Hutchins as Arch-deacon was important. It was true that the Act of Union established the Presbyterians as the state Church in Scotland but Hutchins's warrant was according to the laws of England, and he maintained that Van Diemen's Land was governed according to the laws and customs of England where the state church was the Anglican Church. Legislation to enable payments to be made to other denominations did not alter that situation; moreover the practice in the colonies was to treat the Church of England

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<sup>23</sup>c.f. Hutchins, W., A Letter to the Rev. John Lillie (Hobart, W.G. Elliston, 1837) p.8.

as if it were the Established Church, especially in Van Diemen's Land. It is not therefore surprising that the Archdeacon wanted his Church Bill to be introduced into the Legislative Council and the legal position of the Anglican Church clarified not merely by him but by the government. In the previous year the Council had passed resolutions on presentations to livings, and in passing the Archdeacon's Bill the government once again would show its special concern for the Church of England. The proposed Act to regulate the temporal affairs of the Church of England was given a first reading on the 30th October 1838. Following the second reading it went into committee and disappeared.<sup>24</sup> Not until the 5th of November 1858, twenty years later, was an Act passed which provided for the regulation of church affairs. On the later occasion the Roman Catholics opposed the Bill,<sup>25</sup> and it is possible that in 1838 it was the Presbyterian members who talked the Bill out on the ground that the government should not interfere with the management of any church. The failure to pass it must have been a disappointment to Hutchins and was a key factor leading to the clergy disputes in the period 1843-1857.

Henry Phibbs Fry was one of the clergy involved in those disputes. Among several graduates from Trinity College, Dublin, who served in Tasmania, he was appointed by Hutchins to Clarence Plains in 1839 and to St. George's, Battery Point in 1840. Fry's comments on the disputes

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<sup>24</sup>Minutes of the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land 1837-1842, pp.98-105.

<sup>25</sup>Church Constitution Act, 22 Vic 20 bound with Acts and Resolutions of The Diocesan Synod of Tasmania May 1859, (Hobart, William Fletcher 1859) p.21; Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Van Diemen's Land, 23 September 1858, Vol.III, p.57.

provide a clue to the kind of church organisation which Hutchins's unsuccessful Bill envisaged, and they fit in with what is known of the Archdeacon's own views and his English experience. The licences which the Colonial clergymen received during Hutchins's time were in the form usually granted to the parochial clergy in England. The clergy believed themselves to occupy their chaplaincies much as incumbents occupied parochial livings at home. The parishes were marked out with clear boundaries and the clergyman was appointed to be in full charge of his parish and to exercise within it all the offices of his ministry. He did not feel liable to be moved or displaced nor were changes made save at the wish of the incumbents. The only significant difference between parishes in England and those in Van Diemen's Land was in the mode of paying clergy stipends.<sup>26</sup> Without Hutchins's Bill, the clergy were vulnerable should their Diocesan wish to become sole rector, patron, and judge. Indeed this was the position in which they found themselves prior to the meeting of the first Synod in 1857 and the passing of the Church Constitution Act in 1858 because Nixon, like Broughton, had a Tractarian view of the Episcopal office. Not for twenty years was the status of clergymen declared to be "similar, as nearly as may be, to that enjoyed by Beneficed Clergymen in an English Diocese".<sup>27</sup>

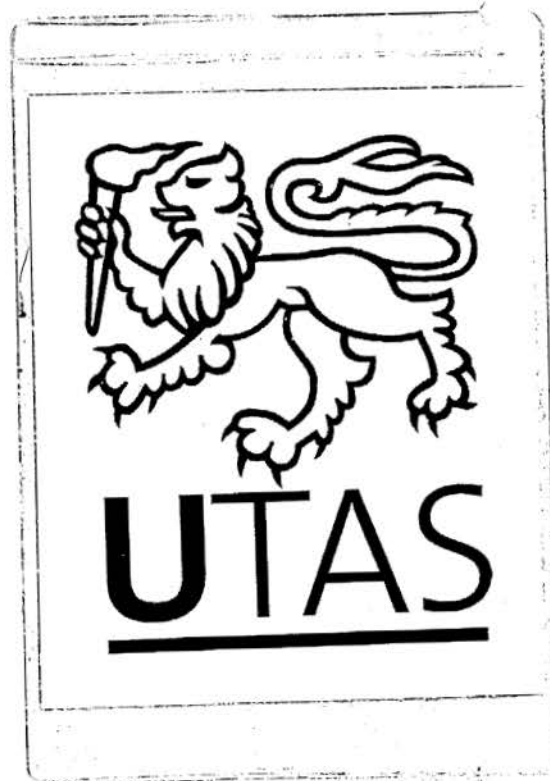
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<sup>26</sup> Fry, H.P., Answer to the Right Reverend F.R. Nixon (Hobart: Walsh, 1853) pp.46,47.

<sup>27</sup> Second Session of Synod, 26 July 1838. Diocesan Minute Book 1857-1880, p.90. Diocesan Archives, Church House, Hobart.



For nearly two decades following the death of Hutchins, the Church of England was introverted, divided and uncertain at a most critical period in its history. Whatever the motives of those in the Legislative Council who prevented the passage of the Archdeacon's Bill they could not have foreseen the far reaching consequences of their reluctance.



CHAPTER 11  
THE BISHOP'S VISIT

In 1838 the Bishop of Australia made a pastoral visitation to Van Diemen's Land so that he could see for himself what had been achieved and what excellent prospects existed for the Anglican Communion. His presence might have been the occasion for a great leap forward in the Church, but Broughton seems to have been more concerned with his personal authority, especially in relation to the Government, than with the establishment of a National Church in a new colony. He seemed to hardly be aware of the challenges facing the Church of England and for Hutchins therefore the episcopal visit was something of a disappointment.

Broughton sailed from Port Philip on the 20th April 1838 and after a stormy passage across Bass Strait and down the East Coast sailed into the Derwent and anchored off Hobart Town<sup>1</sup> on the 23rd. Five years had passed since he had last visited the island and he saw from the river a noticeable "increase and improvement of the town". In the coming weeks he was to discover a significant growth in the Church as well.

Hutchins greeted him on board ship in company with William Bedford, whom Broughton significantly called the "senior chaplain"; it would seem that Palmer's claims to recognition had received little support from the Bishop.

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<sup>1</sup>Broughton to Campbell, 22 May 1838. Appendix to SPG Report, 1838. USPG Archives, p.100.

The welcoming clergy took him ashore and conducted him to Government House where he was to stay.<sup>2</sup> Franklin gave him a warm welcome and put at his disposal all the facilities he would need to visit various parts of the island in safety and with reasonable ease,<sup>3</sup> including the use of a carriage and the services of a coachman.<sup>4</sup>

During the following day Broughton and Hutchins made plans for the visitation and the Archdeacon wrote to the clergy giving them notice of what was intended.<sup>5</sup> The first week or so was spent in Hobart no doubt recuperating from the sea voyage and the Bishop's strenuous programme at Port Philip, enjoying "playful and animated conversation" with Lady Franklin and her guests, inspecting church facilities in and around Hobart, and dealing with personal and administrative affairs in company of the Archdeacon.<sup>6</sup> Apart from arranging the details of the Bishop's itinerary, Hutchins had to prepare for the consecration of "new" churches at Queenborough, New Town, Hamilton, Jerico, Ross, Perth and Richmond, first by assisting the congregations of these places to prepare their petitions for consecration in accordance with canon law,

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<sup>2</sup>Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson, 21 June 1838. RS/16/8/1.

<sup>3</sup>Broughton to Campbell, 22 May 1838, p.100 of SPG Report 1838.

<sup>4</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 7 June 1838. L.B. p.279; 7 August, 1838. p.317.

<sup>5</sup>Hutchins to Clergy, 24 April, 1838. L.B. p.251.

<sup>6</sup>Broughton to Campbell, 22 May 1838. Appendix to SPG Report 1838, pp.99,100; Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson, 21 June 1838, RS.16/8/1; Broughton to Campbell, 22 May 1838. Appendix to SPG Report 1838. pp.100,101;

Hutchins to Marzetti, Morris, Horne, Davies, 27 April, 1838; Hutchins to Clergy, 27 April 1838; Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 27 April 1838, pp.253-255; Hutchins to Palmer, 30 April, 1838; Hutchins to Aislabie, Mayers, et.al., 1 May 1838. Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 2 May 1838, L.B., pp.263,264; Knopwood, Diary, Op.Cit. 27 April, pp.258-262.

and secondly by alienating the church buildings and surrounds from the temporalities of the crown so that the property could be consecrated.<sup>7</sup>

Time was set aside for the Bishop to make some decisions about Palmer and Bedford. In regard to the allegation that Bedford had improperly made an alteration in a School Return, Broughton wrote to the Senior Chaplain to tell him that he had asked to see the records of any proceedings that had taken place in the Executive Council. On the basis of the evidence disclosed in these records the Bishop would decide whether to "take cognizance of the charges".<sup>8</sup> He wrote to Palmer along the same lines, implying that the former rural dean who had made allegations against Bedford might himself be regarded by the Bishop as the guilty party in the dispute. With respect to Palmer's complaint about his own personal standing in the colony, the Bishop first made clear that he regarded Palmer's letter to the Bishop of London as totally irregular since the matter was solely one for the Diocesan; it would have been a reasonable reaction if he had refused to take any notice at all of the request. Nevertheless he had considered the dispatch of the 20th of December 1833, which had given Palmer precedence only in his capacity of rural dean, a temporary appointment whose status and allowances ceased when the appointment finished, as the Archdeacon had already indicated.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>c.f. Broughton to Campbell, 22 May 1838; Hutchins, Letter Book, pp.254-256; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 2 May 1838. L.B. pp.263-264.

<sup>8</sup>Broughton to Bedford, 4 May 1838. L.B. p.266

<sup>9</sup>Broughton to Palmer, 4 May 1838. L.B. p.267; Hutchins to Palmer, 30 April 1838. L.B. p.258.

On Sunday the 6th of May, Hutchins went to Brown's River to officiate, and sprained his ankle so badly that he was unable to go with the Bishop the following day to New Norfolk, where the Bishop found the church building in a creditable state of neatness and repair. He was impressed with Garrard's work as chaplain, and reported that the large church was "very fully and regularly attended." The confirmation of sixty young people was well attended by a devout congregation who "exhibited the greatest attention".<sup>10</sup> On Tuesday the 8th, Broughton travelled on to Hamilton where he found a new church of stone with a fine tower and a well fitted interior. At the Consecration and the subsequent Confirmation service the attendance was not so great as at New Norfolk, "the district not having so long enjoyed the benefit of a clergyman's services". The next day he went on to Bothwell and was perplexed by the "singular" tenure of the church which meant that "the consecration of the church could not be undertaken" as the Bishop rather naively put it.<sup>11</sup> He held a confirmation for a considerable number and since many Presbyterians attended the service Broughton hoped they would be influenced by what they saw and heard, and lose their objections to a "rite so reasonable, impressive, and scriptural". He was well aware of the need to station a chaplain at Bothwell, but realised that the difficulties then experienced would be even worse if the possession issue were not rapidly settled. It was

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<sup>10</sup>Hutchins to Schaw, 8 May 1838, L.B.p.268; SPG Report, p.101.

<sup>11</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1838., p.102.

his intention to press the Government to come to a decision on the right of tenure at the earliest opportunity, knowing that if the decision went against the Anglicans they would have to rely on their own resources in order to provide a second church. The service was in the morning which gave the Bishop a chance to make the rough ride to Spring Hill, where he was met by the Archdeacon who had recovered sufficiently to join him for the rest of the tour.<sup>12</sup> After staying the night and changing horses, the two journeyed on to Jericho where a newly built church was Consecrated.<sup>13</sup> They travelled on to Ross and found that the inhabitants had been dilatory in meeting the expenses of the new church. To remind the congregation of their responsibilities the Bishop insisted on a collection being taken at the Consecration. At Campbelltown they saw the new church nearing completion and at Perth held services of Consecration and Confirmation despite heavy and incessant rain. In Launceston there were two services at St. John's with the Bishop preaching at one and Hutchins at the other, with large, enthusiastic congregations in attendance. One hundred and forty influential gentlemen presented an address of welcome as had been done in Hobart and there was strong support for a second church.<sup>14</sup> A committee was formed and money raised for the building of a "public classical school" under a headmaster who would be a

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<sup>12</sup>For details of the itinerary see Hutchins's circulars on pp.256,260 of his Letter Book; S.P.G.Report 1838.

<sup>13</sup>Hutchins to Morris, 1 May 1838, L.B.p.261.

<sup>14</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 27 April, 18 May 1838.



clergyman of the Church of England; the school would be run much as the Hobart Town Grammar School and according to the principles of the Church. So was conceived the Launceston Church of England Grammar School.

Tuesday morning saw Bishop and Archdeacon on the road to Longford where they had the most rewarding experience of the whole "whirlwind trip".<sup>15</sup> The congregation which gathered for the Confirmation was the largest they had yet encountered, and far too large for the old church. In 1830 Davies had moved to the Norfolk Plains station, and when he began his ministry there had been a congregation of five. His ministry had been so successful that the original church which critics had asserted would never be filled was too small and a new, larger church was in process of construction to house the five hundred who constituted Davies' flock.

On the way back across the island Broughton consecrated a burial ground at Oatlands and arrived in Richmond in time for the Consecration and Confirmation Service on Saturday the 19th of May.<sup>16</sup> Hutchins went to Sorell for the Sunday morning service while Broughton stayed with Aislabie. In the afternoon there was a Confirmation at Sorell and the two friends returned to Hobart no doubt exhausted after this heavy schedule in the middle of a Tasmanian winter, and during a period when bushrangers were especially active.<sup>17</sup> In fact,

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<sup>15</sup>G.P.Shaw, William Grant Broughton and his Early Years in N.S.W. Thesis for Ph.D. at A.N.U., p.475.

<sup>16</sup>Hutchins to Aislabie, 1 May 1838, L.B.p.260.

<sup>17</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 11, 18, 25 May 1838; Executive Council Minutes, 30 May 1838.

Lady Franklin, the Bishop's hostess in Hobart, had had a narrow escape from the bushrangers herself while she was convalescing with her niece, Mrs. Price. All had to flee by night and cross the Derwent by boat. Poor Jane retired to the Cottage in Government House garden so that she could nurse herself up in quiet preparation for the Bishop's return and so that she could cope with the Queen's Birthday Ball and four hundred guests.<sup>18</sup>

Back in Hobart Broughton visited the Queen's Orphan Schools for boys and girls. He found the architecture "very pleasing and impressive", and was satisfied with the "interior economy and the acquirements of the children". Later in the week the Bishop attended the Examination of the Hobart Town Grammar School and this seems to have been an impressive occasion.<sup>19</sup> Later the same day he addressed a meeting under the Chairmanship of the Governor at which a committee was established to promote the work of two important bodies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.<sup>20</sup>

Broughton and Hutchins attended the Queen's Birthday Levee on the 24th of May held despite the rain,<sup>21</sup> but neither went to the evening Ball and Supper, which the Colonial Auditor found so superior to any function put on by Arthur. Were they there, they might have

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<sup>18</sup> Woodward, F.J., Op.Cit., p.209; Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson, 21 June 1838, R.S. 16/8/1.

<sup>19</sup> Hobart Town Courier, 25 May 1838.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid; Broughton to his wife, 23 May 1838, quoted in Whitington, Op.Cit., where the Hobart Town Grammar School is referred to as Hutchins School, p.97.

<sup>21</sup> Boyes, G.T.W.B., Diary, Op.Cit., 24 May 1838.

appreciated the irony of seeing the ballroom illuminated by lamps which had proved too costly for the Scots Church. Two days later the new church at Queenborough to be called St. George's, was consecrated. When finished it was to hold eight hundred and it had been built at the joint expense of government and inhabitants. The elegant church was a little too expensive even without its proposed gallery, as Montagu was to find out. According to Boyes the ceremony was not very imposing, even with Mrs. Logan playing the seraphim as an act of charity and with the presence of the Archdeacon, Bedford, Palmer, Garrard, with a combined choir.<sup>22</sup> Broughton preached appropriately on some words from Haggai which were an encouragement to Hutchins to persevere with his extensive building programme:

"I will be with you - that is my promise. The Lord inspired everyone to work on the Temple".

The appearance of Bedford with Palmer, despite their feud, was due according to Gregory, to the Bishop insisting on a reconciliation before he administered the sacrament. It was doubtful however, whether Bedford was really very forgiving though he had to go through the motions.<sup>23</sup> The opening of St. George's would have given Hutchins special satisfaction since the house he rented was on the corner of Cromwell Street and Colville Street opposite the new church.<sup>24</sup>

On Sunday the 27th of May there was an ordination at St. David's, the first in Tasmania. T.J. Ewing of

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<sup>22</sup> Stanley to Franklin, 13 Sept., 1842, quoted in K. Fitzpatrick, Sir John Franklin in Tasmania, Op. Cit. p. 338; Boyes, G.T.W.B., Diary 28 May 1838.

<sup>23</sup> Boyes, G.T.W.B., Diary 1 June 1838.

<sup>24</sup> Hobart Town Courier, 1 June 1838; 12 April, 1839.

Corpus Christi, Cambridge, was ordained deacon to assist at St. George's; G. Morris of St. John's, Cambridge, was ordained priest to serve at Oatlands.<sup>25</sup> In all, ten of Hutchins's clergy went to Cambridge and their fellowship and scholarship was in contrast to the mixed bag of colonial chaplains who were the ministers of the church prior to his arrival. Next day there was a very well attended Confirmation at St. David's and the following day the Church at New Town was consecrated with a number of the orphans being confirmed. On Thursday, the 31st of May, Broughton attended the public examination at the orphan schools, his last big occasion during his visitation.<sup>26</sup>

All that the Bishop had seen and heard persuaded him that wherever churches had been provided there was a strong disposition shown on the part of the inhabitants to attend them. He was convinced that as the people went to church and joined in the services there would be an improvement in the moral and religious condition in the Colony. He claimed that he had seen more of the colony than many of its critics and was sure that a "wise and understanding people" could be produced to occupy the land. The encouraging fact was that "wherever Broughton had gone in Tasmania he had found a desire to "possess the observances of religion and the guidance of their proper ministers". In every district the community was moving to fulfil the conditions under which the Government would help in the erection of churches and

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<sup>25</sup> S.P.G. Annual Report 1838, p.104.

<sup>26</sup> S.P.G. Annual Report 1838, p.104. Broughton to his wife, 23 May 1838, in Whittington, Op.Cit., p.97.

parsonages and in the maintenance of clergymen, according to the arrangements under the Church Act. The Arch-deacon had in five months made such progress that he already had the requisite applications from six different stations where clergymen were required, and he expected shortly to receive many more. For this reason the Bishop asked Campbell, the Secretary of the S.P.G., to send out to Van Diemen's Land six or eight graduates preferably in deacon's orders.<sup>27</sup> He was concerned that men of quality should be provided who would command the respect of the Tasmanian community, and be able to exert a due influence in matters of eternal moment. So much for Lady Franklin's rather unkind comments later about the calibre of clergymen in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>28</sup>

For the Bishop himself the Governor's wife found Broughton a most delightful person, "unassuming, amiable, attaching and engaging in a most remarkable degree as a man".<sup>29</sup> Lady Franklin saw in the Bishop's face great kindness and all the indications of a lively mind; his superior intellect was marked by the great nose which Napoleon always considered characteristic of fine minds. He had a very small mouth with large and beautiful dark grey eyes shaded with black eyelashes; but the fine head was placed on a very small figure not improved by his lameness. However he was a gentleman in appearance, in attitude and in manners, self-possessed, easy, and with a ready courtliness towards women. He had a good sense

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<sup>27</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1838, pp.104, 105.

<sup>28</sup>Lady Franklin to Sir John Franklin, 20 June 1838,  
R.S. 16/6/1/14.

<sup>29</sup>Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson, 21 June 1838,  
R.S. 16/8/1.



of humour and a sharp wit, and he was an interesting conversationalist in large or small groups or tête-à-tête. He made clear to her his views on the Church Act, Education, and the relations of the Church of England with other denominations; and she found him uncompromising, highly orthodox, and sympathetic towards the Oxford Movement.

She in fact confided to the Archdeacon that the Bishop's talk and the loan of some of his books had made her a "better churchman". Hutchins replied - 'archly after his own fashion but very emphatically'- that there were those who considered there was room for such improvement. She recounted the story to Sir John who shared the joke with Captain Bethune of the "Conway" and also with the Bishop who apparently reassured Lady Franklin, giving as his opinion that the Archdeacon had not done her justice.<sup>30</sup> She was sorry to see the Bishop go, and he obviously had enjoyed his stay at Government House. Having made their official farewells she met him once more accidentally in the doorway of a room talking with the Archdeacon; he said "Let me have one more shake of the hand with you". Incidentally it is clear from this account that Hutchins enjoyed a close personal relationship with both Lady Franklin and her husband for he seems to have had fairly easy access to Government House and its inhabitants.

When Broughton was ready to leave Tasmania he wrote to Franklin and his letter was sent almost

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<sup>30</sup> Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson, 21 June 1838,  
R.S. 16/8/1.



immediately to the Colonial Office.<sup>31</sup> Significantly he wrote only about the Palmer - Bedford dispute; there was no attempt to tell the Governor officially about the state of the Church of England in the island. If Broughton thought of the Church as Established in the sense which Hutchins did, with the Queen as its Head, it is remarkable that he did not report to the Queen's representative in an official manner when the opportunity arose. He had the means and opportunity of presenting to the Home Government the case, which Hutchins had been arguing, about the need for the Church of England to maintain its special role both in religion and education in the interests of the moral welfare of the general community, a case which he could have readily supported from the evidence gathered during his visitation, but he was more concerned apparently in defending his own independence of the government than in fighting for a relationship which he seems to have already conceded as lost. Since Franklin was about to introduce legislation on the management of education,<sup>32</sup> a strong and comprehensive report from the Bishop on the vigorous life of the Anglican Church in Van Diemen's Land would have been a great help to Hutchins in the troubles which lay ahead. As it was, the Bishop's rehearsal of ways in which the Church had not managed at least one public school very successfully and his criticisms of the Government's care of St. David's School, were not calculated to obtain the

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<sup>31</sup>Broughton to Franklin, Enclosure 5, June 1838.  
C.O.280/95/121f.

<sup>32</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 25 June 1838.

support and sympathy of Sir John Franklin.

In December 1837 the Executive Council had virtually brought down the curtain on the petty and protracted dispute between Bedford and Palmer.<sup>33</sup> It seems a pity that Broughton was not able to leave well alone. Hutchins must have been a little disappointed to find that the Bishop's visit did nothing to make his own task easier. There is no evidence that either the government or the churches of any denomination were affected in any marked degree by this visitation. The Bedford-Palmer affair to which Broughton alluded in his letter had taken place under Governor Arthur. The colonial government had then investigated the matter as well as it was able and had decided to take no action. Glenelg, however, ordered the new Governor to investigate further and take the appropriate punitive action.<sup>34</sup> It seemed to the Secretary of State that either Bedford was guilty or Palmer was; if either were found guilty he was to be suspended from the Government service. He distinguished between ecclesiastical and civil jurisprudence, but he did not explain in which area the crime of "calumny" might lie. Franklin immediately responded pointing out that Palmer had not accused Bedford of fraud so that he could not be a calumniator nor could Bedford be found guilty of fraud.<sup>35</sup>

Broughton felt that he also had to write to

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<sup>33</sup>Executive Council Minutes, 11 December 1837.

<sup>34</sup>Glenelg to Franklin 17 June 1837 vide Ross Border, *Op.Cit.*, p.109.

<sup>35</sup>Franklin to Glenelg 23 December 1837, Dispatch 137 G.O. 33/27, p.1233.

Glenelg giving his reasons why the case could not be properly heard in the Executive Council and stating that it would be humiliating for two former members to be arraigned there.<sup>36</sup> If a clergyman in his diocese was guilty, he could only be found so in an appropriate tribunal, one established by the Bishop or by his commissary, Archdeacon Hutchins. He pointed out that the malpractices of other clergy, Roman and Presbyterian, were dealt with by their own superiors, and so he had instructed Bedford and Palmer not to appear before the Council. The Bishop was prepared to "risk the loss of all" rather than stand by silent while his jurisdiction was set aside and his clergy exposed to a control that would take away their independence. Such an event would be a disaster for the Church. In the particular case Glenelg's instructions were absurd because the Archdeacon if he took his place in the Executive Council would be bound by an oath to keep from his Bishop matters relating to the clergy. If he did not take his seat the Archdeacon himself would be prevented from knowing about the clergy for whom he was responsible. Glenelg in reply clarified the position in respect of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, and it is evident that he was content to let sleeping dogs lie. It is possible that Broughton's uncompromising letter to Franklin was a factor in his decision.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 12 December 1837, Dispatch 133. P.R.O. Reel 210, CO 201/266, p.38.

<sup>37</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 12 December 1837, Dispatch 133; Glenelg to Franklin, 17 November 1838, Dispatch 386; G.O. 1/32, p.226; Broughton to Franklin, 5 June 1838, C.O. 280/95/121f, Public Record Office.

It was a pyrrhic victory because the arguments used by the Bishop were derived largely from the provisions of the Church Act against which Hutchins had fought so hard. In arguing for the exclusion of the Government from the affairs of the Church of England by reference to the legal position of the Roman and Presbyterian churches, Broughton was putting the Anglican Communion on the same footing and revealing his Tractarian bias. He was virtually accepting that the National Church had been disestablished in Van Diemen's Land, should be regarded as quite independent of the Government, and was therefore in no special position of favour enjoying no responsibility beyond its own membership. This was the very point Hutchins had not conceded and indeed saw no reason to concede. The episcopal visit had demonstrated the widespread influence of the Anglican Church and the considerable support which it enjoyed. It was not the time to antagonise either the Colonial government or the Whigs at home. But Broughton was not finished and belaboured the point that the Government had made groundless charges. He noted that Glenelg had mentioned a charge of fraud and had considered that the charge must have had substance since it was made by a clergyman who was also Rural Dean. Sir John Franklin should take cognizance of the fact that Palmer had distinctly disavowed all intention of imputing falsehood or deceit on the part of Bedford; rather he had made clear that he wanted an investigation not into Bedford's conduct but into Mr. Stansfield's conflicting statements. Broughton

implied that the Secretary of State had made a mountain out of a molehill. Time had somehow blown up a trivial issue into one of serious magnitude. Broughton pointed out the ridiculous notion of constituting the Executive Council into a tribunal to hear a case against an individual whose identity was not certain. He supported Bedford's refusal to attend an improperly constituted court, and indicated that the idea, widely canvassed, that Bedford had imitated the schoolmaster's handwriting was entirely negated by the fact that Palmer had no trouble at all in picking out the addition to the Return which the Minister had made. What Bedford had done, in the Bishop's considered opinion, was to have certified as correct a Return which he corrected even as he signed it.<sup>38</sup> Such an action was not quite proper but was not sinister, and there was no evidence that Bedford neglected the school, rather the contrary. Broughton concluded by defending his own action in making public the allegations which Arthur had made secretly.

So Broughton left Van Diemen's Land and returned to Sydney. There was an odd epilogue which is a wry comment on Glenelg and an indication of the Home Government's meanness towards the Australian colonies; it must have been a niggling frustration to the hardworking Bishop. He was informed through Governor Gipps that future episcopal visitations would be financed only if Broughton obtained prior permission from the Secretary

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<sup>38</sup>Broughton to Franklin 5 June 1838 C.O.280/95/125.

of State. On this occasion the costs of the "Conway" would be met!<sup>39</sup>

The success of the Bishop's visit fell below Hutchins's expectations. True Broughton had called for an unwavering fidelity to the principles of the Church of England and for "earnest and united yet temperate efforts for their maintenance and extension". He had also disclaimed any narrow, personal or sectarian motives.<sup>40</sup> But his visit and his opinions made little impact upon the press, and he left at Government House an impression that he was narrow, high church and uncompromising.<sup>41</sup> There was a pessimism about him which certainly was not what Hutchins was looking for. In spite of all the encouraging things Broughton saw and reported he could still write that the Colonial condition was "still in many respects very deplorable: too much so to make it a pleasing task to enter into details".<sup>42</sup> The basic difference between them remained; when Broughton spoke of the Church of England he seemed to view it as merely one of the denominations: when Hutchins spoke of the Church he stressed not only its truth but also its national responsibility.

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<sup>39</sup>Glenelg to Gipps 2 Jan. 1839; Barrow to Spearman 10 December 1838; Baring to Stephen 20 December 1838; Stephen to Spearman 7 January 1839; HRA Series 1 Vol. XIX pp. 726, 727.

<sup>40</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 27 April 1838.

<sup>41</sup>Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson 21 June 1838. R.S. 16/8/1.

<sup>42</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1838; c.f. also Broughton to Keate 1 May 1837 N.L. M.S. 1731 where he writes that he fears for the Church of England "because so many of her sons have forgotten what she is really and have compromised their principles by countenancing the fanatical and puritanical spirit which has gained so much head during the last thirty five to forty years."



## CHAPTER 12

### A NEW SCHEME OF EDUCATION

One of Hutchins's important tasks as head of the Church of England was the superintendence of the Government School system which he took over from Philip Palmer in 1837. He inherited a legacy of governmental and parental indifference, of buildings and equipment in a poor state, of teachers insufficiently trained, and of general uncertainty through a lack of decisive leadership.<sup>1</sup>

Governor Arthur had been advised to leave the schools under the administration of the Church of England but to provide better trained teachers. The Reverend T.B. Naylor of the Orphan Schools and Gregory, the Colonial Treasurer, had recommended the Bell system of instruction as a bulwark against the secularism of the European system which was a dangerous monster, "the conceit of Frankenstein".<sup>2</sup>

Forster, the Chief Police Magistrate had recommended the Lancaster system of the British and Foreign Schools Society not on religious grounds but because he considered Jones at Trinity and Cole at Westbury, who both used the system, the most effective teachers. He agreed with Naylor and Gregory that the head of the Anglican Communion should continue to manage the Government schools.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Board of Enquiry upon the State of the Government Schools in Hobart Town, 31 Dec.1835. C.S.O. 1/843/17847. A.O.T.

<sup>2</sup>Naylor to Col.Sec., 2 Feb.1836. C.S.O.1/843/17847; Gregory to Col.Sec. 14 Mar.1836. C.S.O.1/843/17847. A.O.T.

<sup>3</sup>Forster to Col.Sec., 29 Mar.1836. C.S.O.1/843/17847 A.O.T.; c.f. Barrett, *Op.Cit.* p.115 where it is incorrectly stated that Gregory disagreed with Forster in wanting "exclusively Anglican schools".

No improvements were made prior to Hutchins's arrival and it was left to him to raise the standard of teaching and increase the numbers of children attending. He had to persuade parents to pay between fourpence and ninepence a week in order to gain Government funds towards a schoolmaster's salary and he had to find reasonably competent people to teach in the schools; in both tasks he was singularly successful. He made no attempt to replace nonconformist teachers or teachers that used the conformist Lancaster system,<sup>4</sup> nor did he try to replace pamphlets and textbooks produced by the British and Foreign Schools Society. He ran the system as a National system without the exclusivism of which he has been accused, and he spent a considerable proportion of his time doing it. On the other hand, he had nothing to do with the management of the Hobart Town Church of England Grammar School, of which he was not even a trustee, nor did he administer any other private school in Van Diemen's Land.

Hutchins expected that if the Church Act were passed the public system which he administered would be supplemented by a system of denominational schools run by the three Churches whose ministers had been allowed stipends under the legislation. He informed his own clergy in December of 1838 that the Government could not

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<sup>4</sup>Backhouse, J., Extracts from the Letters of James Backhouse (London: Harvey and Dalton, 1838) Vol. I, p. 21 quoted in Oats, W. H., The Rose and the Waratah (Hobart: Friends School, 1979) pp. 10, 11; Hutchins's correspondence with schoolmasters shows that he retained the men mentioned in the reports.

consistently refuse to aid Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic schools in addition to the public schools managed by him.<sup>5</sup> Indeed the Governor had promised to introduce some general arrangement of education "upon a footing in accordance with this principle" when he addressed the Legislative Council in July of 1837.<sup>6</sup> For nearly twelve months however Franklin made no suggestions, and throughout 1838 the Archdeacon found himself in the unsatisfactory situation of running a School Department which was slowly disintegrating because of the uncertainty which once again bedevilled the system.<sup>7</sup> He did his best under the circumstances and as in the previous year made every effort to use his resources in the most effective manner.<sup>8</sup>

Four new schoolmasters were appointed and Hutchins took his usual care over their credentials. Mr. Stace was recommended by the inhabitants of Brighton and the neighbourhood to be their schoolmaster and Hutchins knew him as Parish Clerk in that area; he felt able to advise the Colonial Secretary to seek the appointment of Mr. and Mrs. Stace as schoolmaster and schoolmistress of Brighton.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Hutchins, Circular to Clergy, 18 Dec. 1837 L.B.p.360.

<sup>6</sup>Minutes of the Legislative Council 1837-1842 10 July 1837

<sup>7</sup>c.f. Hutchins to Colonial Secy 3 August 1838 p.316.

<sup>8</sup>N.B. The Report of the Board of Education 12 August 1840 implied that the schools had been neglected prior to the Board's appointment. Legislative Council Papers 1840.

<sup>9</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 19 February 1838, L.B.p.221; c.f. also Hutchins to Stace, 2 January 1838, L.B. p.202.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson were appointed to Bothwell after Hutchins had satisfied himself as to their suitability.<sup>10</sup> Before appointing Mr. and Mrs. Notley to the Springs, the Archdeacon had some correspondence with Dr. Browne in Launceston in which his concern about the character of the new Schoolmaster was revealed.<sup>11</sup> Eventually he made the appointment on a trial basis and ensured that Browne supervised the new man.<sup>12</sup> Any master who did not measure up to Hutchins's standards was dismissed, as Mr. Peckham was from New Norfolk;<sup>13</sup> and little time was lost in replacing him with a man acceptable to the local inhabitants.<sup>14</sup> Hall, the schoolmaster at Ross, was another who felt the weight of the Archdeacon's displeasure.<sup>15</sup> New schools were being planned at Cressy, Brighton, and Great Swan Port.<sup>16</sup> Hutchins also hoped to upgrade the facilities at Sorell, Bothwell, St. David's Hobart, and Sandy Bay, and he made applications to the government accordingly.<sup>17</sup> It was not his fault that his requests were not acted upon until after the Board of Education had relieved him of these duties.

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<sup>10</sup>Hutchins to Wilkinson, 9 March 1838, L.B. p. 232; Hutchins to Carter, 9 February 1838, L.B. p.218.

<sup>11</sup>Record of Correspondence in a Small Letter Book held in the Diocesan Church House, Hobart, 7, 8 February 1838.

<sup>12</sup>Hutchins to Notley 2 March 1838, L.B. p.226; Browne, Journal Op.Cit. 23 March 1838.

<sup>13</sup>Hutchins to Peckham 2 January, 8 January 1838, L.B.pp.201, 204.

<sup>14</sup>Hutchins to Moor 12 January 1838, L.B. p.204; Hutchins to Garrard 12, 17 January 1838, L.B. pp.204,206.

<sup>15</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 9 February 1838, L.B. p.218; Hutchins to Hall 4 January 1838, L.B. p.369.

<sup>16</sup>Hutchins to Davies 9 February 1838; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 19 February, 30 March 1838; Hutchins to Mainwaring 6 April 1838, L.B. pp.217,221,240,244.

<sup>17</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Engineer 5 January 1838; Hutchins to Wilkinson 23 March 1838; Hutchins to Miller 16 March 1838; Hutchins to Crown Solicitor 9 June 1838 L.B. pp.203,235,236,282.

Hutchins had also to order and deliver school furniture and equipment, as well as make arrangements for playgrounds.<sup>18</sup> There were delays caused by changes in the bureaucracy and by uncertainty in the shipping.<sup>19</sup> But the children got their benches and desks, slates, paper, pens, spelling books and primers, Bibles and Prayer Books.<sup>20</sup> Some even had lesson books from the British and Foreign Schools Society which Hutchins was prepared to issue, even though a little reluctantly.<sup>21</sup>

With such a conscientious attention to detail Hutchins carried out his superintendence of the Government Schools for which he was wholly responsible to the Governor and which he personally managed from an office in Hobart. These schools were public and open to all children whatever their denomination and were quite distinct from the Hobart Town Grammar School, first established in 1829, resurrected in 1833 by the district committee of the S.P.C.K. in Van Diemen's Land<sup>22</sup> and approved by Glenelg provided that what he designated the Bishop's School, was self-supporting when once re-established.<sup>23</sup> Charges of prejudice arising from the requirement by the exclusive Anglican Grammar School that all its students attended a

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<sup>18</sup>Hutchins to Matheson 7 February 1838; Hutchins to Russell 8 February 1838; Hutchins to Anstice 24 April 1838, L.B. pp.211,252.

<sup>19</sup>Hutchins to Garrard 14 April 1838, L.B. p.247; Memo C.S.O. Z5/94/2116.

<sup>20</sup>Hutchins to Carter 17 January 1838, L.B. p.205.

<sup>21</sup>Hutchins to Browne 22 May 1838; Hutchins to Jacob 6 July 1838, L.B. pp.269,301.

<sup>22</sup>S.P.C.K. Annual Report 1838, L.B. p.48; Archdeacon's Charge, Hobart Town Courier 14 May 1833.

<sup>23</sup>Minute on Dispatch, Arthur to Glenelg 19 January 1838 C.O. 280/64 P.R.O.

Church of England service and Sunday School did not apply to the management of the public schools but it suited the Church's critics to confuse the bases of the different schools.<sup>24</sup> Until Sir John Franklin announced his intention to reform education there was no general criticism of the Government system except that equipment deficiencies and dilapidated buildings were seen to be due to the officials' neglect; there is no evidence that parents kept their children away from the schools for reasons of conscience.

Meanwhile Franklin was receiving plenty of advice especially in the press. He was told that "scriptural education" was not difficult to implement.<sup>25</sup> The principal tenets of Christianity were shared by all the major denominations, claimed an editorial. Upon close investigation, it would be found that when Christians differed on certain doctrinal points, they were in reality of little consequence, "though much blood has been spilt, and unheard of cruelties perpetrated, in order to establish some particular position." That naive view was apparently shared by the Governor.<sup>26</sup> He might with profit have read on through this particular editorial and seen the eulogy on the Lutheran compulsory education system, efficient and

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<sup>24</sup>Stephens, Geoffrey, The Hutchins School 1846-1965 (Hobart: Hutchins School, 1979) p.6.

<sup>25</sup>Hobart Town Courier 6 April 1838.

<sup>26</sup>c.f. Franklin's speech to the Legislative Council 30 June 1838 in Minutes of the Legislative Council 1837, 1842 pp.48,49.



comprehensive, but uniform and church-based. The following week the Courier took an example of a school in Liverpool, England, to show that a "rational system of general education" could accommodate the Catholics of the colony who had complained of the existing arrangements.<sup>27</sup>

In May however the Catholics asked the government for financial assistance so that they could have their own Schools.<sup>28</sup> The Presbyterians in the same month also demanded schools which their children might "profitably and without compromise of principle" attend. According to Lillie there was an "urgent necessity" to organise a system of public education "in accordance with the desire of Her Majesty's Government".<sup>29</sup> In a second letter Lillie specifically asked for Presbyterian Schools and the payment of Presbyterian teachers.<sup>30</sup> The Wesleyans likewise requested their own schools in April and in June.<sup>31</sup> In May, the Governor announced the appointment of John Raven at a salary three times greater than that of a normal schoolmaster; he was to conduct a general school in Hobart.<sup>32</sup> An advertisement in June announced the opening of the "Van Diemen's Land Public Grammar School".<sup>33</sup> With such advantages of patronage and salary conditions it might be supposed that Raven's model school

<sup>27</sup>Hobart Town Courier 13 April 1838.

<sup>28</sup>Executive Council Minutes 30 May 1838.

<sup>29</sup>Lillie to Colonial Secy. May 1838 C.S.O.5/2497.

<sup>30</sup>Lillie to Colonial Secy. 30 May 1838 C.S.O.5/2660; c.f. the argument in Roe. Op.Cit. p.143.

<sup>31</sup>Orton to Colonial Secy. 18 April, 21 June 1838, C.S.O.5/1843 and 4184.

<sup>32</sup>Executive Council Minutes 17 May 1838.

<sup>33</sup>Bent's News 29 June 1838.

when it started would quickly have become popular as a liberal and free institution for public instruction much superior to the Government schools run by the Archdeacon or to the Anglican Grammar School. Such was not the case, and the main body of people continued to look to the Church of England as the main provider of schooling. The doughty Presbyterian, Dr. Turnbull, later to become Colonial Treasurer, gave a lecture on Education in the Mechanics' Institute in which he claimed that the most important factor in the education and mental growth of the people in England was the existence of an established religion.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast the press continued to blame the Anglican Church for preventing the progress of a "free" education and for failing to provide the sort of education "best adapted to purposes of Colonial utility", by which was meant the teaching of secular skills in order to further the material prosperity of the Colony together with the abandonment of religious training.<sup>35</sup>

While Franklin was pondering how indeed he might change the system, the Courier informed him early in June that the colony in point of general education was comparatively "in a great state of forwardness". There were twenty six elementary schools - the Blue Book said thirty four - the teachers of which had proved themselves thoroughly qualified; they were persons of good character

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<sup>34</sup>Colonial Times 17 April 1838.

<sup>35</sup>Colonial Times 5 June 1838.

and free of convict taint. Parents were "uncommonly attentive to the education of their children."<sup>36</sup> On the 17th of May, the Governor had presented some proposals to members of the Executive Council. They were clear, simple, and more or less consistent with the provisions of the Church Act. First, all schoolmasters and mistresses from the three main denominations would be paid the same salaries and allowances. Secondly, the Legislative Council would be applied to each year for an education vote for parochial schools. Thirdly, each of the three denominations would be entitled to apply for assistance out of that vote in the proportion which the number of churches belonging to that denomination might have to the aggregate number of churches belonging to the other two denominations. The minimum number of children required for a school to be supported by the Government would be twenty. Fifthly, there would be only one school for each church unless distance and population rendered a second school desirable. Lastly, a special fund would be set up for other denominations who wanted schools.

On the 25th June, the Archdeacon was invited to give his opinion on the proposals.<sup>37</sup> He first pointed out that the size of the education vote should be determined by the needs of the colonists; no doubt he foresaw the reluctance of the Legislative Council to find the amount of money which would increasingly be needed. Secondly, he advised that the money voted should be

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<sup>36</sup> Hobart Town Courier 8 June 1838.

<sup>37</sup> Executive Council Minutes 25 June 1838.

apportioned, not according to the number of churches, but in proportion to the numbers of people in each denomination as obtained from the census. The money granted should be left to the denominations to apply as they thought best. If the object was to afford the means of obtaining an education conducted upon principles approved by the parents, the appropriation should, he thought, be in the ratio of the number of individuals, not of churches. It could then be left to the parties immediately interested to determine whether it would be advisable to employ a portion of their income in erecting school houses.

Hutchins was assuming on the basis of Franklin's proposals that the existing Government schools which were superintended by him and his clergy would remain in his charge. He guessed that a number of parents would continue to send their children to what they regarded as the public schools provided such children were not required to learn the Anglican catechism, for it was the catechism which provoked such opposition as there was. Those who argued for a change in the system wanted to have all church teaching removed from the syllabus. If it was removed for them and for their children Hutchins could not see what obstacles would prevent parents sending children to his schools. It seemed unreasonable to him that Anglicans should be compelled to forfeit their own religious instruction to satisfy those who not only wanted a "general" education for their own children but for all children.

He could not see why everybody should be "mixed up in the same common crucible of indifference".<sup>38</sup> He pointed out that children whose parents objected were not required to learn the catechism. To ensure that this was so he suggested that a general instruction be issued to all masters. On the question of numbers he reminded the Governor that, in remote places like Georgetown, Swanport and Avoca, schools were badly needed although it might not yet be possible to find twenty students.

Three days after Hutchins had given his views, Franklin opened the Legislative Council Session and outlined his amended plan for education in the colony.<sup>39</sup> Two questions have to be considered. Why did Hutchins raise no objection at this time, whereas in December when the Board was finally constituted he withdrew his support from the scheme altogether? Why did the Legislative Council oppose the scheme on one day and pass it the next?

Hutchins interpreted the Governor's speech in the light of the proposals he had heard in the Executive Council. The Governor however had apparently taken the view that the existing Government schools would not be supplemented by but replaced by three sorts of schools. One sort would satisfy Anglicans and Wesleyans; Presbyterian schools would cater for Presbyterians and Independents; Catholics might have their own schools. It would be a scheme in which every denomination might participate

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Minutes of the Legislative Council 1837-1842  
pp. p48, 49.

"without any compromise of principle".<sup>40</sup> Behind the pious verbiage of the Governor's address there appeared to be a plan for schools to be conducted as required by the three main denominations in which special classes would learn the catechism of their own church. The only significant difference from Hutchins's own proposals was that in his proposed schools the dissenting children would not merely abstain from catechism lessons: they would have a class of their own.

The huge Board of Education consisting of Public Officers, Judges, Members of both Councils and all the Clergy would be limited in their powers by a regulation to preserve conformity in the doctrines taught in each school.<sup>41</sup> Hutchins, instead of being responsible to the Governor for the schools under his care, would be responsible under the proposed arrangements to the Board, and any new schools started by the Catholics or Presbyterians would similarly be responsible to the same Board. It was a grand plan which saw the role of Government as ensuring that education was provided for those who wanted it, rather than as providing an education itself. The scheme was similar to that established in England by Lord Melbourne the following year when he set up an Education Committee of the Privy Council. The plan was approved in principle by the Legislative Council though there were some aspects of the financial arrangements which members were unhappy about.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Minutes of the Legislative Council 1837-1842 pp.48,49.

<sup>41</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land, p.49.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid. pp.73,72.



There was no public outcry against the proposals which were generally well received even though some were still fearful that Government support of denominational schools would favour the Anglicans. Bent's News evinced the opinion that Franklin's scheme did not give the Church of England a monopoly of education but was an encouragement to the setting up of "general schools".<sup>43</sup> It was therefore unfortunate - if not contrived - that the Braim controversy erupted at this time to give opponents of the Church of England further reason to accuse the Church of "exclusivism", and to cloud the general educational issues under discussion. The trustees of the Hobart Town Grammar School, a private Anglican school founded in 1829, were planning to relocate the school and wrote to Franklin asking for the vacant site bounded by Macquarie, Barrack, and Collins streets.<sup>44</sup> In this letter the trustees made clear the Anglican nature of the school and stated that they intended to revive "the original rule which required that the Scholars should attend the Sunday School, and from thence accompany the Master to Church". The Legislative Council granted four hundred pounds to assist the grammar school on condition that the students were not compelled to attend St. David's. In a second letter the trustees agreed that the children

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<sup>43</sup>Bent's News 27 July 1837.

<sup>44</sup>Trustees to Franklin 29 May 1838 C.S.O.5/3226. This was the site of the Hutchins School from 1846 to 1964.

could attend any Anglican church on Sunday,<sup>45</sup> and this change in the regulation satisfied the Governor.

On the same day as the trustees notified the Government that they had brought the new regulation into conformity with the Governor's requirement, John Gregory as secretary and treasurer of the school informed the headmaster, T.H. Braim, of this decision to revert to the original rule on church attendance when the new school house was erected. Braim at once informed the parents he would resign because the trustees required that "no children but those of the Church of England should be received into the school." It was Braim's intention to carry on the school on his own account.<sup>46</sup> This was a disloyal and dishonourable response but it was the beginning of another long and bitter campaign against the Church of England. In vain John Gregory pointed out that the school was a private school, set up as a professedly Church of England School and accepted as such by all the parents who paid the fees. In Gregory's view it was illogical that for six days the students should be taught as Anglicans, but on the seventh day should not be required to attend a place of worship where their lessons would be confirmed rather than impugned.

For a month the Colonial Times kept the issue alive and used it to attack the exclusivism of the Church of England. Not only was the Church accused of bigotry and intolerance but also of victimising Mr. Braim who had been

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<sup>45</sup> Trustees to Franklin 4 June 1838. C.S.O.5/3226.

<sup>46</sup> c.f. Hobart Town Courier 15 June 1838.

passed over for ordination and had been forced to resign not only on principle but because he could not make a respectable living if the Dissenters left the school.<sup>47</sup> Murray's Review similarly dealt at length with the Braim controversy, and opposed the exclusivism which had been demonstrated by the trustees. The Bishop's action in initiating the move was defended as a matter of right but his High Church principles were deplored.<sup>48</sup> Hutchins had nothing to do with the management of the Hobart Town Grammar School and he had already made it clear that the public schools were not exclusive and that dissenters did not have to study the Anglican catechism. As Head of the Church of England, however, he could not avoid the attacks made on the Church over this affair, and it is likely that the Governor was kept well informed by the Presbyterians of the implications.

The growth of denominational schools in this year suggested that the Governor's intentions were interpreted generally as Hutchins had understood them.<sup>49</sup> But there were no detailed proposals about the administration of the schools, and the Archdeacon became increasingly concerned

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<sup>47</sup>Colonial Times 12, 19, 26 June, 10 June 1838; Colonial Times 19 June, 10 July 1838.

<sup>48</sup>Murray's Review (The Tasmanian) 12 June, 19 June, 26 June 1838.

<sup>49</sup>Braim opened his school first in Macquarie Street and then at Boa Vista c.f. Bent's News 29 June, Hobart Town Courier 22 June, Murray's Review 13 November 1838. There was a new Wesleyan School in Hobart and a new Presbyterian school in Launceston c.f. Murray's Review 13 November 1838. Launceston Advertiser 6 December 1838. Mary Ann Miller opened a Catholic School in Hobart. c.f. Executive Council Minutes 4 December 1838.

that the delay in clarifying what was to happen was affecting teachers, parents, and children.<sup>50</sup> In April, Hutchins was speaking of the Governor putting the Education Department "on a more permanent footing"; in June he wrote of "a very material alteration to be made"; in July and August his letters speak of "the intention of the Governor to put the School Department upon an entirely new footing."<sup>51</sup> It was clear the Franklin was moving, or was being moved, further along the path of reform than he had hitherto indicated. Yet despite Hutchins's repeated requests no details were given of the changes envisaged for the coming year until the 13th of December.<sup>52</sup>

Government Notice No. 247 set up the unwieldy Board of Education consisting of the Judges, the members of the Councils, all the Police and Assistant Police Magistrates, and all the clergy as outlined in the address. But only five of this great number would be needed to constitute a quorum. The principle of denominational schools was considerably weakened, for the government would only support schools which abided by the Board's regulations. The Board would be commissioned to make rules and regulations for all schools without reservation, and would begin its work on the 1st of January 1839 - that was in two weeks' time! Schools enjoying

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<sup>50</sup>Hutchins to Norman 29 June 1838; Hutchins to Johnson 26 July 1838; Hutchins to Colonial Secy 3 Aug. 1838. L.B. 298, 310, 316.

<sup>51</sup>Hutchins to Palmer 24 April 1838; Hutchins to Norman 29 June 1838; Hutchins to Johnson 26 July 1838; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 3 Aug. 1838. L.B. pp. 252, 298, 310, 316.

<sup>52</sup>Hobart Town Gazette 1838 p. 1164.

government support would have to apply to the new Board prior to the 1st of March 1839 for continued aid. Every school so supported would be open "to the visitation of every member of the commission" and members would be entitled "to enquire into the most minute particulars of its management". Further, in a school which had an Anglican "conductor", the master might be required to hear students rehearse the Presbyterian catechism, and, by extension, the Catholic catechism, though that was not explicitly stated.

The arrangements meant that the Presbyterians, who were known opponents of the Anglican system, could legitimately intervene in the affairs of any of the schools for which the Archdeacon would be responsible. It also meant that dissenters could obtain a quite disproportionate amount of the education vote. The Cornwall Chronicle applying the new system to Launceston called it "unjust, as well as unwise and unsafe".<sup>53</sup> The Congregational Union for example could claim as much pecuniary aid as the Episcopalians and yet their relative numbers throughout the Colony were 1 to 25. If the Independents were entitled to one superior school, then the Episcopalians were entitled to 150 superior schools. The Chronicle foresaw the denominations setting up six schools in Launceston "instead of the one National School."<sup>54</sup> This was an unsolicited and unexpected testimonial for the system administered by the Archdeacon. The main

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<sup>53</sup>Cornwall Chronicle 29 December 1838.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid. (italics mine)

criticism of Franklin's new proposal was that it would introduce sectarianism into a field where it had not existed before. What Franklin apparently had in mind was a variety of denominational schools administered under the uniform regulations of a huge Board of Education which could interfere at will with the operation of any school under its authority according to the sectarian view which happened to be dominant at the time. For a network of national schools run by one man who cared very deeply about the preservation of Christian values Franklin substituted a scheme which was administratively top heavy and incapable of implementation without religious arguments. When Gregory and Forster reported on the public schools in 1836 they had not found any problems associated with doctrinal differences, and under Hutchins's supervision the schools continued to function without major controversy. The new Franklin scheme emphasized the differences and ensured that there would be an increase in sectarian bitterness.

In fact the main opposition did not come from "other denominations" as some have suggested.<sup>55</sup> Hutchins wrote to his clergy in terms which showed his alarm and disillusionment.<sup>56</sup> Shortly afterwards he addressed a strong protest to the Governor in a form which later he might have regretted.<sup>57</sup> These two letters ensured the

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<sup>55</sup>Fitzpatrick, *Op.Cit.* p.176; A.G.Austin, *Op.Cit.* p.71.

<sup>56</sup>Hutchins to Clergy 18 December 1838. L.B.p. 361.

<sup>57</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 24 December 1838 CSO 5/181/4285.



scheme would not succeed if it ever came into existence, but they also suggested to Franklin further changes which he might make.

Hutchins told the clergy that he would have accepted a scheme which gave Christian parents with differing opinions a chance to have their children educated according to their principles, even though he doubted "the propriety of aiding in the support and propagation of acknowledged error". However he could not accept an arrangement which required Anglican schools to be conducted in the way prescribed, and "under the control of the extraordinary Board" called into existence. Hutchins made a significant distinction between a situation in which the Governor would lay down regulations which the Archdeacon as the administering authority would have to obey in running his schools and a situation in which the Governor handed over responsibility to an "extraordinary Board". Hutchins saw the proposed scheme as a device by which the Anglican schools could be prevented from doing the national teaching job which he wanted them to do. In an important paragraph the Archdeacon described the new system as designed not so much to assist other denominations as to attack the Church of England; he saw the system as produced for reasons unknown, under the influence of "other denominations".<sup>58</sup>

Having consulted the clergy, Hutchins informed the Governor on the 24th of December that the majority of them

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<sup>58</sup>Hutchins to Clergy 18 December 1838 L.B.p.361.

would withdraw from the management of schools so long as they were conducted on the Governor's plan.<sup>59</sup> They would however assist if the Governor would provide financial assistance in proportion to the number of Anglican residents. The reason Hutchins opposed the Governor in December when he had not opposed him in July was that the Government Notice No.247 differed materially from the arrangements suggested in June and July. He reminded Franklin that Glenelg had envisaged general schools unconnected with any particular church and wholly supported by the government, supplemented by Church schools partly supported from private contributions and partly funded by the government. Hutchins could not believe that a professed friend of the Church would do them such an injury as the scheme would impose when enemies of the Church in England and in New South Wales had not gone so far.<sup>60</sup>

The Archdeacon's reference to Glenelg's general schools may well have started Franklin's mind cogitating along these lines. Hutchins could not have foreseen that Franklin would later embark on a scheme that was exclusive, and, according to Gladstone, expensive, inefficient, and a violation of conscience.<sup>61</sup> He ended his letter:

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<sup>59</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 24 December 1838  
CSO 5/181/4285.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>c.f. Gladstone to Eardley Wilmot 3 March 1846.  
G.O. 1/61/74, p.9-101 A.O.T.

I am well aware indeed that the pleas of conscience will when urged by us have little weight with too many (though not with your Excellency) since our lot has fallen upon times when everybody is supposed to have a conscience and conscientious scruples loudly demanding attention with the exception of the ministers and members of the Church of England.<sup>62</sup>

By January 1839 Franklin was reconsidering his plans for elementary education, having found that none of his sets of proposals had received sufficiently widespread support. In conversation with Hutchins and in a minute to the Executive Council the Governor made clear that he favoured a scheme which allowed members of all denominations to "receive equal benefit from the funds voted for education," an ambiguous statement which did not make clear how the proportions were to be determined.<sup>63</sup> The Archdeacon knew that he would be absent from the Executive Council when the schools question came up for discussion and he therefore put his comments in a letter.<sup>64</sup> This letter confirms that Franklin was still in January suggesting Church schools, and Hutchins's sole concern was that the four thousand pounds voted by the Legislative Council should be apportioned fairly among the denominations. If at this time the Governor had been proposing "general" schools,

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<sup>62</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 24 December 1838.C.S.O. 5/181/4285.

<sup>63</sup>Executive Council Minutes 21 January 1839.

<sup>64</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 10 January 1839 , G.O. 39/2 p.353, A.O.T.

Hutchins would have commented specifically and critically on such a proposal.

In his letter, Hutchins declared that "the proposed mode of partitioning out that grant" was not consistent with the Church Act, with the principle of equity, or with the instructions of the Secretary of State given in dispatches of July and November 1836 which protected the financial rights of the three main denominations and also made the amount of private contribution the condition and the measure of public aid. He complained that efforts to raise private contributions towards obtaining the means of providing religious instruction which were to ensure proportionate assistance and encouragement from the government were now turned against those that made them, since it was argued that those who would do so much for themselves needed less aid from the public purse. Having set out in a table an allotment of funds to each denomination in accordance with the numbers given in the religion census, Hutchins finished his letter with a secondary argument for not diminishing the grant which should be apportioned to the Church of England:

When Your Excellency remembers that the children of all denominations will, in all probability, be still educated in the Schools connected with our Church, everywhere except in Hobart Town or Launceston, I hope that it will appear to Your Excellency more consistent with equity, to assign us a somewhat larger portion of the annual grant,

rather than a smaller...

It is clear from this letter that in the early part of January the Governor had in mind a system of National Schools as designed by the National Society in England, supplemented by Non conformist schools.<sup>65</sup> He still preferred such a system when he met with the Executive Council in January no doubt because it had strong public support as the Archdeacon's letter indicated. He was there advised to appoint a new Board with fewer members and only one inspector: to establish "general" schools with an exception for Roman Catholics who would be separately provided for: to continue the existing schools as general schools: and not to institute a denominational system.<sup>66</sup>

The Government's special favouring of Roman Catholic education and its unwillingness to recognise the scruples of Anglicans astounded Hutchins and he spoke in Launceston on the 27th of January with warmth and forthrightness.<sup>67</sup> He warned that if the Church of England did not maintain its position and preach and teach "pure Christianity" the Christian heritage in Van Diemen's Land would decay. It was necessary to work hard to provide the means of obtaining for children a Christian education according to Church principles, especially at a time when anti-church opinions were widespread. He deplored the

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<sup>65</sup>c.f. Franklin to Lady Franklin 9 May 1839  
R.S.16/1/1.

<sup>66</sup>c.f. Marginal Comments on the Governor's Minute of 21 January 1839. (Gov. Corres. p.363.)

<sup>67</sup>Hutchins, William, A Sermon on behalf of the Van Diemen's Land Committee of the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Hobart: W.G. Elliston, 1839) preached in Launceston 27 January 1839 c.f. Browne, Journal Op.Cit.

fact that legislators publicly declared that truth and error, acknowledged error, should receive from them the same aid. He claimed that the principle at work in Van Diemen's Land actually forbade, as far as it could, any interference with the progress of error, so that assistance for a specifically Anglican school had been rejected while assistance for a specifically Catholic school had been approved. He deeply regretted the attacks of some dissenters - and he obviously meant Presbyterians - who vilified the Church of England "in no mild and measured terms". He felt that they preached the gospel "of envy and strife, or of contention".<sup>68</sup>

This sermon together with Franklin's comments to his wife on the schools question<sup>69</sup> make clear that the Governor was under strong pressure from the Presbyterian lobby. This may have accounted for the delay in promulgating new regulations for Education, and it seems reasonable to assume that discussions were going on behind the scenes from the end of January to the beginning of May 1839. There was little doubt that the new Education Board could not function; the conflicting elements could not be brought to amalgamate, and the arrangements collapsed, leaving a vacuum which the Archdeacon was then expected to fill.<sup>70</sup> Hutchins asked the Governor to con-

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid. pp.28,29.

<sup>69</sup>Franklin to Lady Franklin 9 May 1839.R.S.16/1/1.

<sup>70</sup>Murray's Review 5 February 1839; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 26 February 1839 L.B.p.387; Governor's Minute on this letter 27 Feb.1839 C.S.O. 5/



firm his position in charge of the schools and this was unequivocally done in the Executive Council at the beginning of March.<sup>71</sup>

Meanwhile the Presbyterians were activated to obtain requisitions for churches once it appeared that schools might be authorised if there was a church in a district which would take responsibility for any school that was then established.<sup>72</sup> In April the Executive Council considered an application for a Presbyterian Church at Antill Ponds and found that the requisition had a number of invalid signatures. A requisition for Sorell was also found to be incorrectly submitted.<sup>73</sup>

This was the background against which Hutchins would not give permission to the Reverend Mr. Dugall to use the Sorell school house for a Presbyterian service.<sup>74</sup> He could not see any reason why the Church of England should support those who were so vociferous and devious in their opposition to Anglicanism. The True Colonist and the Colonial Times embarked on a protracted campaign against Hutchins and were supported by the schoolmaster pamphleteer, James Thomson.<sup>75</sup> Lillie made the most of

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<sup>71</sup> Hutchins to Lt. Governor 27 February 1839 quoted in Executive Council 4 March 1839;  
Executive Council Minutes 4 March 1839.

<sup>72</sup> c.f. Gazette Notice 13 December 1838.

<sup>73</sup> Executive Council Minutes 17 April 1839;  
Executive Council Minutes 29 April 1839.

<sup>74</sup> Colonial Times 23 April 1839.

<sup>75</sup> True Colonist 19, 26 April, 3, 10 May 1839;  
Colonial Times 23 April, 14, 28 May 1839; Thomson, James,  
Vindication of the Presbytery of Van Diemen's Land  
(Hobart, MacDougall 1839).

the incident as a cause célèbre and decided to go to Sorell in May and hold a service there. He asked the Governor for the use of the school house and was told quite properly that this matter was in the province of the Archdeacon.<sup>76</sup> Lillie was heated and persistent to the point where Franklin reminded him of the unfair attacks on Hutchins, and the opposition drummed up in Sorell against Norman "by bad men in the township." The Governor told Lillie that any new church should be at Pittwater not Sorell, and that Dugall had occupied the Sorell school-house without permission. Lillie became even more heated and spoke of "the excited feeling among his community and of their determination to agitate the question, and said if agitation began he would not answer where it would stop".

Soon after Lillie left, Hutchins called at Government House and gave the Governor his side of the story; Franklin considered that he had acted responsibly. Franklin wanted Hutchins to give Lillie the use of the school house as he had allowed him in the past, but in all the circumstances, the Archdeacon was adamant that so long as the Governor gave him the job of managing the schools he would decide in the way he thought best.<sup>77</sup> Lillie made

<sup>76</sup>Franklin to Lady Franklin 9 May 1839.R.S.16/1/1 Note:  
the rest of this account depends upon this letter.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid. Note in this part of the letter Franklin erased a phrase: "asked the Archdeacon questions" as if he wished his wife to regard the relationship between Hutchins and himself as cordial.

the most of Hutchins's refusal and held a dramatic open air service in Sorell. As a result of this controversy and the "great Stir" with "all the Scotch and Dissenters" the Governor "saw that the moment had arrived" for him to make yet another arrangement for the management of the schools.

Franklin consulted Forster and Turnbull, two Council members hostile to Hutchins's views on religion, and followed their advice in resolving on a small lay Board of Education and "general" schools on the model of the British and Foreign Schools Society. In doing so Franklin went against his better judgement for the sake of peace, and succumbed to the agitation which Lillie had first threatened, and then stirred up.<sup>78</sup> In the Gazette of the 10th of May the Public Schools were placed under the control of a Board of five including Forster, the acting Colonial Secretary.<sup>79</sup> The schools would run on the principles of the British and Foreign Schools Society, and the clergy with other senior citizens would act as Visitors; the Legislative Council would be asked to provide separate financial assistance for Sunday Schools. Following Council approval the Board was enlarged and the Governor expressed the pious hope that "all classes of the community should obtain the kind of instruction suitable to their wants."<sup>80</sup> On the 25th of September, Dr. Hobson, the new Board Secretary, published Regulations

<sup>78</sup>The accounts in Austin, A.G., Op.Cit. pp. 70, 73 and Fitzpatrick, Op.Cit. pp. 176-179 do not agree with this evidence, ignoring Franklin's own statements and the context in which he changed his mind. c.f. Franklin to Lady Franklin 14, 17 May 1839. R.S. 16/1/2.

<sup>79</sup>Hobart Town Gazette 10 May 1839. Notice No. 99.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

in which parents of the new "Free Day Schools" were required to pay fees.<sup>81</sup> In October these regulations were amended to omit the daily reading of the Scriptures and to require the conductors to ascertain every Monday morning what place of worship each child had attended on the Sunday.<sup>82</sup> The amendments had the effect of removing religious instruction almost entirely from the Day Schools, and placing that responsibility upon unpaid teachers in the Sunday Schools. Meanwhile the salaries of Day School teachers were considerably improved by the Government as a fillip to the new Board.<sup>83</sup>

Hutchins realised that the new scheme meant that a coherent, church-based, Christianity would disappear from the public schools of Van Diemen's Land. Events had shown that so-called peace over the schools question had been bought at the cost of reducing moral instruction to the lowest common denominator. He recognised the pressures under which the Governor had been compelled to make his decision and Franklin in turn appreciated Hutchins's understanding.<sup>84</sup> But Hutchins was "annoyed at the conduct of the Presbyterians and especially with that of Mr. Lillie who certainly (appeared) to be now going all lengths with his people."<sup>85</sup> Franklin feared that Mr. Lillie had found it necessary to yield to the

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<sup>81</sup>Hobart Town Gazette 27 September 1839.

<sup>82</sup>Hobart Town Gazette 25 October 1839.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Franklin to Lady Franklin 9 May 1839.

<sup>85</sup>Franklin to Lady Franklin 14 May 1839.

violent ones of his party.<sup>86</sup>

Hutchins could see what others could not: that the Governor had been forced by a jealous and vociferous minority to take the first step in establishing secular schools, and that the establishment of secular schools meant in turn the emergence of a secular state.<sup>87</sup> He saw his ideal of a National Church, ministering to all people of a Christian Nation, under dire threat from a minority group of "liberal" dissenters and secularists. In such a situation he could not remain passive and he launched his own campaign to restore the Church of England to what he deemed its proper role.

In June of 1839, the Archdeacon wrote an open letter to the Chief Justice explaining his reasons for withdrawing from any connection with the Government Schools.<sup>88</sup> First he argued that a so-called liberal education without Christianity would result in the growth of secularism and a decline in moral standards. Secondly, he argued that a "general" system could not successfully be placed in juxtaposition with a "Christian" system, and he cited the example of the University College in London as the kind of institution which would result from the decisions taken.<sup>89</sup> He wrote : -

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<sup>86</sup>Franklin to Lady Franklin 17 May 1839. R.S. 16/1/1

<sup>87</sup>Hutchins, William, A Letter on the Schools Question (Hobart: W.G.Ellison, 1839) p.7.

<sup>88</sup>Hutchins. A Letter on the Schools Question Op.Cit. p.3.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid. pp.10,11; c.f. also Lady Franklin to Mary Simpkinson 13 June 1840 R.S.16/8/5.

the course we are now entering upon is, I fear, only the first step towards a similar result; and I am not prepared to move even so much as one inch, along a path likely to terminate at the entrance of such a temple of darkness.

Thirdly, Hutchins pointed out that the word "general" was misleading because it did not permit Anglicans, a majority of the citizens, to benefit from the system; it was in fact an exclusive system designed for dissenters and secularists. Fourthly, Hutchins clarified the "principle" on which the new system was based; that principle, Hutchins believed, was the right of every person contributing towards the system's support whether by fee or tax to have a system which did no violence to his feelings or his conscience however erroneous his beliefs might be. Such a principle would evidently shut religion out altogether. Fifthly, the Archdeacon doubted if the promotion of Sunday Schools would fill the gap created by the change in the administration of schools; he was convinced that if children did not obtain instruction in the principles of Christianity during the week days they would never get it at all, since, eventually, they would not be found at the Sunday Schools. Finally, Hutchins argued that his own scheme of allocating a fixed education vote in equitable proportions to the denominations would cost no more and would better satisfy all the parties involved. He ended with a comment which some



would have regarded as perceptive and prophetic: the Lay Board under the Governor's latest arrangements were:

Left quite at liberty to place over the Schools masters of any and every opinion, to imbue, if not directly, yet indirectly, in the various ways which they will well know how to employ, the minds of their scholars with their own opinions, whether those opinions rest upon the unchanging and unmoveable rock of truth, or the very varying, vibrating quagmire of sophistry and scepticism.<sup>90</sup>

Hutchins knew that the system against which he was inveighing was not a planned national scheme of education conscientiously brought into being by Franklin, as Fitzpatrick has suggested.<sup>91</sup> Not only had the Governor stated that he preferred the National Society Scheme<sup>92</sup> but he had envisaged the Catholics opting out of the system and running their own schools, which in fact they did in 1843.<sup>93</sup> He also left one third of the children to be educated under the auspices of the Church of England in the Queen's Orphan Schools.<sup>94</sup> These children were

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid. p.16.

<sup>91</sup> Fitzpatrick, Op.Cit. p.180; c.f. also Tasmanian Year Book for 1969 (Hobart, Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics 1969) p.9.

<sup>92</sup> Franklin to Lady Franklin 9 May 1839.

<sup>93</sup> Reeves, Clifford, A History of Tasmanian Education (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1935) p.7; Governor's Minute to Executive Council Minutes 21 Jan. 1839.

<sup>94</sup> Franklin to Hutchins 6 Aug. 12 Aug. 14 Aug. 1839. G.O. 52/7 pp. 73, 88; G.O. 52/8 p. 66. A.O.T.

of little interest to the Scotch community because they had no parents whose signatures could be obtained on a requisition form.

Hutchins probably also knew that many Anglicans would provide their own schools for parents who could afford the fees; indeed by 1848, when the Board School system was replaced by a subsidy scheme devised by Governor Denison, there were thirty three Anglican schools as well as a hundred private schools in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>95</sup> Within a year the number of Anglican schools was fifty nine.<sup>96</sup> However this was not a state of affairs which satisfied Hutchins. He wanted a National system available not only to those who would pay fees but to all, as it had been under his administration; and he could not see the justification of destroying that plan simply because of a noisy minority. The new Board which was supposed to take over the existing schools at the beginning of 1839 lumbered into existence in the middle of the year and was not ready to take over active administration until the beginning of August.<sup>97</sup> Despite what has been written,<sup>98</sup> the Board was not very successful. Where there had been thirty four schools in 1838 catering for 1380 children, in 1839 there were twenty four schools with 1190 children. The number of schools remained virtually

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<sup>95</sup> Statistical Returns for Tasmania 1848 Tables 19, 20, 21.

<sup>96</sup> Austin, A.G., Op.Cit. p.82.

<sup>97</sup> Franklin to Hutchins 6 August 1839 G.O.52/7 p.73, A.O.T.

<sup>98</sup> Fitzpatrick, Op.Cit. pp.179, 180, Austin, A.G., Loc.Cit.

the same until 1848 despite an increase of population from forty thousand to sixty thousand, and in 1849 when a real choice became financially possible the Board schools were reduced to eight.<sup>99</sup> It was clear that most people did not want the Board School System, and its imposition did nothing whatever to lessen the denominational controversy.<sup>100</sup>

Hutchins believed that the civilizing, "softening" influence of Christianity was threatened by the rise of materialist secularism. He had seen the Christian order under threat both on a national scale during the French war and on a local scale in the aftermath of that war, and he was convinced that the Church, despite its faults, was the national guardian of that order. This did not mean that Hutchins was part of an aristocratic establishment and had no rapport with "the lower orders of the free", as P.W. Boyer has suggested.<sup>101</sup> His own antecedents and his experiences in Ansley, Huddersfield, Wirksworth, and Kirk Ireton made that improbable. His concern was not the preservation of an ancient class structure but rather the maintenance of a Christian Society.

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<sup>99</sup> Statistical Returns of Tasmanian 1838-1841 Tables No.38, No.25; 1842-1844 No.36; 1844-1846 No.38; 1848 No.19.

<sup>100</sup> c.f. Colonial Times 20, 27 Aug. 1839, 3 Dec. 1839; Hobart Town Courier 16, 30 August, 15, 22 Nov., 6 Dec. 1839.

<sup>101</sup> Boyer, P.W., "Leaders and Helpers: Jane Franklin's Plan for Van Diemen's Land". Article in Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers. Vol.21, 1974.p.21.

Henry Fry, who arrived in May of 1839 found Hutchins to be "a man universally beloved, schooled to godliness till it has become his nature".<sup>102</sup> He was not "an overbearing arrogant priest...worse than a tyrant...a sort of monster in human shape",<sup>103</sup> but a Christian who could see the trend of events and was determined to be loyal to his ordination vows.<sup>104</sup>

Hutchins was surprised and disappointed that the Governor had not sent a copy of the Archdeacon's suggestions for education home to the Secretary of State.<sup>105</sup> He still hoped that the system might be amended in the September session of the Legislative Council and he did not send on to the Governor the Memorial of the Clergy against the new scheme until the session was over.<sup>106</sup> However, in the Legislative Council, Franklin expressed warm support of the system which earlier he had been reluctant to introduce, and quoted Sir John Herschel on the school establishment at the Cape of Good Hope where Presbyterians were in the ascendancy.<sup>107</sup> The Governor was now irretrievably committed to the scheme and on the 10th of December sent, through the Colonial Secretary,

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<sup>102</sup>Fry to Todd 9 July 1839 quoted by Roe, Michael, (ed) H.P.Fry: "Four Letters from Hobart Town, 1839-1845". Article in Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers Vol.11, 1963, 1964.

<sup>103</sup>A Member of the Church of England, The Grievances of the Church of Scotland (Hobart, W.G.Elliston 1839) p.3.

<sup>104</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 16 December 1839 in Loch. Op.Cit. p.XXXVII.

<sup>105</sup>Lady Franklin to John Franklin 20 June 1839, R.S.16/6/1/11.

<sup>106</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 23 September 1839 quoted in Loch. Op.Cit. p.XXIII.

<sup>107</sup>Loch. Op.Cit. pp.X.XI.

an answer to the Clergy Memorial which was later released to the press. Franklin maintained that the reading of the Bible was the only element needed in the curriculum to ensure the maintenance of Christianity. If denominations wished to proselytize they could do so on a Saturday when the children were not at School. He was persuaded that he was "consulting the general interests of the Colony both in a moral and social point of view, as well as the wishes of a majority of its inhabitants."<sup>108</sup>

Hutchins replied that he was against the principle - or want of principle - of the scheme, not against its details.<sup>109</sup> The Archdeacon drew attention to the fact that as a priest he had promised to teach the Christian faith "as this Church and Realm hath received the same" and to "drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines".<sup>110</sup> He rejected Franklin's suggestion that the conduct of his clergy would be injurious to the interests of the Church of England. He denied that the majority of the inhabitants were in favour of the scheme; in this matter later events were to prove Hutchins correct. He rebutted charges of intolerance:

I am not however at all alarmed for the  
real interests of the Church of England  
on this ground; provided only we maintain

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<sup>108</sup>Forster to Hutchins 10 December 1839. Loch.Op.Cit.  
XXXII; c.f.also Hobart Town Courier 27 December 1839.

<sup>109</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 16 December 1839. Loch.Op.Cit.  
XXXVI; Hobart Town Courier 27 December 1839.

<sup>110</sup>Loch. Op.Cit.p.XXXVII.

her principles and practices in a spirit of Christian kindness and benevolence, as well as of Christian firmness; and I am constrained to say in self-defence that at present I know of no very serious departure from such spirit, save on the part of our accusers.<sup>111</sup>

Hutchins deplored the fact that "liberty of conscience" was denied to Anglicans by abusers and calumniators who made the phrase their own watchword. He and his clergy could not assist in schemes which they believed to be subversive of Christian truth and against the interests of the community at large.<sup>112</sup>

Lady Franklin realised that the breach between the Governor and the Archdeacon was wide, that the Governor was afraid, and that he might act rashly. Together with Forster she tried in the last three months of 1839 to reconcile Hutchins with her husband. She found Hutchins "amiable", but was "uneasy" about Sir John especially after the publication of the letters.<sup>113</sup> She may well have thought that the Governor had allied himself with a party upon which he could not depend. There were incidental debates about the ownership and use of school

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Lady Franklin Journal 16 October, 26 November, 29 November, 5, 7, 10, 18, 26 December 1839. N.S. 279 A.O.T. (Folder 2).



houses which did nothing to heal the breach.<sup>114</sup> When Hutchins discovered that the dissenters were organising petitions in favour of the General System of Education, he wrote to his friends suggesting that they should petition for assistance in the maintenance of Church Schools. He wrote for example to John Clark, a pastoralist at Hunting Grounds, expressing surprise that the Board of Education was seeking support from all the inhabitants. He knew that the Board had not anticipated a very long existence, but thought that "its own vitality might have supported it a little longer before it required convicts to prolong its feeble existence". He hoped that members of the Church would not thoughtlessly be persuaded to grant their assent to the sort of Petition the Board was seeking. He added:

We have only to petition ourselves to get rid of the Board with all its excesses.<sup>115</sup>

It was not easy to alert people to the issue of principle which Hutchins was arguing. The public schools probably changed very little; almost all the teachers who served under the Archdeacon, several of whom having been appointed by him, continued to work for the new Board.<sup>116</sup> Seven of Hutchins's teachers were still in the public schools in 1848, the first full year of Denison's dual

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<sup>114</sup>Franklin to Hutchins 6 August 1839, G.O. 52/7, p.73; Hutchins to Franklin 11 July 1840 C.S.O.5/5382; Executive Council Minutes 6 November 1839.

<sup>115</sup>Hutchins to John Clark 31 December 1839.C.4. Clark Papers in Tasmanian University Archives.

<sup>116</sup>c.f. Blue Books for 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.

system. Indeed it is hard to believe that the old system was so inefficient when little change was made in eight years.<sup>117</sup> For a while it would appear to the local inhabitants that the change in arrangements had affected the schools hardly at all; they would not rally in large numbers to sign petitions. It was remarkable that quite a few did.

It has been said that the Church of England in the middle of the nineteenth century provided education for young Australians "most likely to further its ideals", by catering for the children of the gentry. By association Hutchins has been implicated in this activity.<sup>118</sup> Such was not his purpose. He had taken over and improved a National system of education for all children in Van Diemen's Land and it was the whole of society that was his concern. He had an incidental and minimal interest in the Anglican Grammar Schools in Hobart and Launceston, but his fight was on behalf of the parochial schools without which he believed the basis of a Christian society would eventually disappear. There was only one National Education which a nation could give so long as the nation had an established church. As Archdeacon Butler had said, there might be a thousand plans of schemers, or philanthropists, or sectarians, but no education which did not bring children into the church could really be called national.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>c.f. Blue Books for 1847, 1848.

<sup>118</sup>Roe. Op.Cit. pp.23, 39, 22.

<sup>119</sup>Austin, M.R. Op.Cit. p.16.

## CHAPTER 13

### SOME FURTHER PROBLEMS OF CHURCH AND STATE

Hutchins's ideal was that the Church would be associated with the civil authority in the good government of the people. The Church Act clearly changed the status of the Church of England in relation to the government, but Hutchins had no wish to forfeit his special relationship with the State and he continued to co-operate in every way possible. However some tensions were inevitable.

The Marriage and Registration Acts<sup>1</sup> followed inevitably from the Church Act. The registration of births, deaths, and marriages became the responsibility of the State and the circumstances under which marriages could be legally performed were widened. The Act allowed weddings to take place in a private home and without the publication of banns, and the validation of a marriage was in the registration rather than in the ceremony. To some this seemed to encourage secret marriages and to take away the need for a religious contract, replacing it with a civil contract, a step along the road towards secularism.<sup>2</sup> Hutchins felt that one clause of the Marriage Act was draconian and he petitioned against it.<sup>3</sup> He argued that fining clergy five hundred pounds for marrying a minor or a prisoner who had not

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<sup>1</sup>2 Vic No.7 and 2 Vic No.8.

<sup>2</sup>Hobart Town Courier 10 August 1838.

<sup>3</sup>Hutchins's Petition on the Marriage Act. C.S.O. 5/135/3244.

obtained leave was too drastic in a society where correct information of this kind was hard to obtain.

Secondly, Hutchins was shocked at the Governor's proposal to alienate glebe lands and auction them for the benefit of the colonial treasury. He informed the Governor that the Secretary of State had previously instructed that four hundred acres of glebe should be set aside for every parish throughout the colony for the occupation and use of the clergy of the Church of England so that their tenure was secured by a "patrimony in land."<sup>4</sup> He referred to the difficulty of getting good men to a penal settlement when their security was so doubtful, though they were much needed in "the moral wilderness around us". The lands currently held should be put in trust for the use and benefit of the clergy in order to give them some independence. The suggestion, said Hutchins, was not at variance with the terms of the Church Act because the glebes had already been set aside. There had been no demand from the colonists that the land should be auctioned. He attached a schedule showing over seventeen thousand acres. Franklin sent the Archdeacon's request home and by his own silence indicated his contrary opinion. The new Secretary of State, the Marquess of Normanby, concurred with the Governor<sup>5</sup> and the land was lost. Ultimately a few private individuals gained from this decision, but the Church lost a valuable source of

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<sup>4</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 31 December 1838. C.S.O.5/149/1

<sup>5</sup>Forster to Hutchins 15 January 1840 C.S.O.5/8/95.

income which might have made it a more powerful influence in the development of the State.

Hutchins was all the more distressed by this action because of the Governor's inaction over secondary land grants. Under a dispatch from Sir George Murray dated the 10th of February 1829 colonial chaplains became entitled to a grant of 1280 acres after five years service and to a further grant after ten years. Goderich in 1831 had directed that the value of the land be given in lieu. Governor Arthur therefore approved £320 for Bedford, Garrard, Norman, Browne and Davies, the money to be invested with trustees for the chaplains' families. Glenelg approved this decision in 1836 and reiterated that the same clergymen should receive compensation after ten years. In March 1839 Normanby confirmed the arrangement. Hutchins claimed that the money payable should include interest from the date of qualification, and drew the Governor's attention to the fact that long serving clergy in Van Diemen's Land were at a disadvantage compared with the clergy of New South Wales.<sup>6</sup> The Governor did nothing, and debate dragged on.<sup>7</sup>

The fourth issue concerned the pastoral care of convicts. In July of 1838 Hutchins recommended that the superintendent of the Female Factory be paid £25 per annum for taking a daily service there, since there had

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<sup>6</sup>Hutchins to Franklin C.S.O.5/58/1313; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary September 1839. L.B.II, p.19.

<sup>7</sup>c.f. Executive Council Minutes 26 June 1838, 18 Oct.1838.

been no religious instruction in the factory except on Sundays.<sup>8</sup> This request was passed on to the Principal Superintendent of convicts who appears to have asked Hutchinson, the man in charge of the factory, why Bedford was not taking the services.<sup>9</sup> Hutchins heard of the correspondence through a clerical slip in the Colonial Secretary's Office, took exception to the roundabout way in which one of his clergy was being examined, and was doubly incensed when he discovered that the original intention had been not to consult the Archdeacon at all.<sup>10</sup> Despite the fact that the Governor had not asked for a report from the Principal Superintendent, the Colonial Secretary persisted, and Hutchins wrote a long letter to Sir John explaining his objections.<sup>11</sup> The only question at issue, wrote the Archdeacon, was whether or not the Government could afford £25 per annum. It was not up to the Government to determine if more or fewer services were needed in the factory; that was solely a matter of his professional judgement. Nor was it up to the Government to determine if Hutchinson was a fit man to conduct services; he had already made that decision. If the Governor felt that Hutchins was not competent to judge whether or not extra services should be held and by whom, then he would have to "decline taking any part whatever in

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<sup>8</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 24 July 1838.  
C.S.O.5/134/3214.

<sup>9</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 1 August 1838.L.B.p.313.

<sup>10</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 3 August 1838.L.B.p.315.

<sup>11</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 7 August 1838.L.B.p.317-319.



providing for the spiritual instruction of convicts."

In fact, continued Hutchins, it was well known to all concerned what services took place in the factory, so that the calling for a report in the way in which it was done could only be interpreted as a slight upon the clergyman concerned. As Archdeacon, he would be responsible for his clergy and supervise their work, and he would not submit to any procedure which seemed to place clergy under the direction of the Principal Superintendent. In any event the Church Act made clear what the correct procedure was. The contretemps appears to have been settled amicably on this occasion but a similar incident took place a year later in Campbelltown, and the unpleasantness was exacerbated by the hostility which existed there between Bedford Junior, the chaplain, and Frederick Forth, the Police Magistrate.

In January of 1839, Bedford had, allegedly in play, collared Captain Forth, hit him, and forced him into a corner.<sup>12</sup> Forth became excited and angry and therefore retaliated. When he was informed that Bedford had been acting "in play" he apologised. But Bedford and his legal adviser were not satisfied and they notified the Archdeacon. Forth felt that it was necessary to give Hutchins his version of the incident and that letter was interpreted by Bedford as seeking to damage his reputation. Hutchins

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<sup>12</sup>Forth to Hutchins 19 January 1839. Calder Papers, Latrobe Library, Box 88;  
Forth to Hutchins 22 January 1839. Calder Papers;  
Hutchins to Forth 19 January 1839. Calder Papers;  
Forth to Hutchins 23 January 1839. Calder Papers.

saw both men in Campbelltown but Bedford continued to believe that he had been wronged both in the actual incident and in the telling of it. In the light of this incident it was not surprising that when Forth as Police Magistrate wrote to Bedford requesting him to visit the gaol in Campbelltown the letter was returned unopened.<sup>13</sup> The Archdeacon was unhappy about Bedford's behaviour but he also regretted that the complaint, which was against a clergyman, had not been addressed to him. The Governor conceded that Forth had not adopted the correct procedure but he expressed the view that more attention should be given to the prisoners by the chaplains. Hutchins, mindful of the fact that Franklin in the Church Act had put the Church of England on a par with other denominations in the management of its own affairs, reminded the Governor that he should leave the Head of a Church to supervise the ministers of that Church.<sup>14</sup>

Without telling Hutchins, the Governor wrote to the Secretary of State asking if he had the power to direct chaplains to visit the gaols, houses of correction and road parties.<sup>15</sup> When the Archdeacon discovered the existence of this dispatch a year later, he wrote directly to the Secretary of State for the only time during his

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<sup>13</sup>Forth to Chief Police Magistrate 4 June 1839. C.S.O.5/202/4926. Note: Forth's letter to Bedford remained sealed and unopened until December 1977.

<sup>14</sup>Hutchins to Forster 12 July 1839. C.S.O.5/202/4926; Forster to Hutchins 16 July 1839. C.S.O.5/202/4926; Hutchins to Franklin 25 July 1839. C.S.O.5/202/4926.

<sup>15</sup>Franklin to Normanby 30 July 1839. G.O. 33/32, p.843.

period in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>16</sup> The impression had been given that the clergy were unwilling to visit the prisoners, which was not true. In his dispute with the Governor, wrote Hutchins, that was not the real issue. The central question was whether the office of the Bishop was to be "looked upon as that of a mere government officer receiving instructions for the performance of his duty through the medium of the Colonial Secretary". He felt sure that this was not the "intention of his Late Majesty in appointing a Bishop for these colonies since it would have altogether deprived his office of its real character". He was well aware of the sensitive nature of the transition period from the time when the Governor was the Ordinary to the time when the Bishop took over that responsibility, and he knew that differences of opinion would occur. He had determined to get matters on a proper footing as quietly as possible maintaining the Bishop's authority with firmness but "troubling nobody with complaints when encroachments might be attempted upon that authority." Here was a clear statement of Hutchins's long term programme: to establish the Church of England as the Church of the Realm and to clarify its relationship with the civil authority in the colonial environment. He brought to this task a firmness and a graciousness that were not so evident in his successors.

The letter then turned to the specific dispute which had produced Franklin's derogatory dispatch, a dispute Hutchins had thought to be closed. He stated that

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<sup>16</sup>Hutchins to Russell August 1840. G.O. 53/35 p.1.

he could not regard his clergy as being under the immediate control of the government so far as convict instruction was concerned. As soon as clergy had been stationed in each district under the provisions of the Church Act he could see that the convicts were looked after "without the appointment which had been recommended and partly approved by the Home Government of what are now called ministers of religion." He had found that men claiming this title had interfered with arrangements he had made and therefore he had disclaimed responsibility. However, to demonstrate the Church's concern for the prisoners, Hutchins included a copy of questions which the clergy were required to answer for the Bishop twice a year. The clergy were required to say what road parties or iron gangs were in their district: how many men in each: how often they were visited: what services of worship were available: and what books had been distributed among the men. He defended Bedford's reluctance to visit a particular group of prisoners and enclosed a letter which he had sent to Franklin by way of general explanation. In this letter there was a somewhat ambivalent passage making the point that often superstitious people asked a clergyman to stand by the dying in the belief that this assured a passage to heaven. What use, Hutchins had written, was a clergyman if the sick man could not understand him and so be brought to repentance, and what example was it to others if the superstition about a parson being present was subscribed to.

Hutchins's letter to Russell not only described the Church's position in relation to the State; it also gave an Evangelical's rationale for the Church's life within the State. The Church was to proclaim the truths of the Gospel about repentance and salvation and to uphold the moral law in the way it deemed best. It was not to be a government welfare agency.

Both the Home Government and the Colonial Government could have learnt wisdom from this protracted dispute. In failing to do so they brought about a more serious confrontation later on with Bishop Nixon which harmed considerably both Church and State. It might be said that Hutchins was too loyal to his clergy and should have rebuked some of them more roundly. No doubt he did express his displeasure to Bedford Junior over the Forth incident. He certainly reprimanded Bedford Senior, Freeman, and Mayers when their behaviour fell below his standards.<sup>17</sup> For his opposition to the Superintendent of Prisoners, and his independent views on the care of convicts Hutchins may have paid a price. He lost his convict messenger when he became a "javelin man" and the subsequent replacements were, to say the least, unsuitable.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Senior, 7 March, 5 April, 1838; C.S.O.5/45/1004; Hutchins to Freeman 9 October, 19 October 1838; Hutchins to Mayers 4 January 1839. L.B.339, 344, 370.

<sup>18</sup>Hutchins to Gunn 5 February, 26 May 1838, 22 April 1839, L.B.pp.209, 272, 399.

In all the disputes so far discussed, Hutchins genuinely sought to reach an understanding with the Government. He still considered that the Church had an important role to play in the good government of the colony as well as in the daily life of the inhabitants. For example in the Bothwell Church case, it was Lillie who was the main antagonist and Hutchins had some reason for supposing that the Government would be on his side and supporting the claims of the Church of England.

One of Hutchins's responsibilities as Archdeacon was the care of church property, and it is not surprising that he was concerned about the future of the church building at Bothwell. Shortly after his arrival in Van Diemen's Land he checked the records in the office of the Colonial Secretary and discovered that the Church of England was to be given possession of the building as soon as a clergyman was appointed to Bothwell.<sup>19</sup> Until the time of that appointment Hutchins was determined that the rights of the Anglican community should be recognised and he made plans accordingly. It would seem that he underestimated the stubbornness of the Presbyterians and the complexity of the case.

Further investigation of the dispute is necessary to show the intensity of Presbyterian opposition to Hutchins. In 1827 a leading Anglican of the district, William Clark, had proposed building a church and had canvassed the

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<sup>19</sup>Hutchins to Bothwell Church wardens, 16 May 1837.  
L.B. p.20



settlers.<sup>20</sup> Clark reported that ground was available, that financial help would be required, and that nearly everybody supported the idea of an Anglican chapel. There is little doubt that in 1828 the settlers on the Clyde shared Arthur's view that the proposed church would be Anglican, but at the end of the year the Reverend James Garrett, a minister of the Church of Scotland, arrived in Van Diemen's Land. Arthur appointed Garrett to a chaplaincy but insisted that the Church should be Anglican and should be given up when an Anglican chaplain was appointed.<sup>21</sup> Donations to the Church were mainly Anglican,<sup>22</sup> the Church was finished as an Anglican place of worship and it was opened by an Anglican clergyman, Dr. Drought from Green Ponds.<sup>23</sup>

For eight years James Garrett was the Chaplain of the District and for all practical purposes the incumbent of the church which he felt he had helped to build.

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<sup>20</sup>Clark to Scott 22 January 1828 in The Examination of Witnesses before the Legislative Council in the Bothwell Church Case with the Documents. (Van Diemen's Land; James Barnard Printer, 1840) p.19.

<sup>21</sup>The Bothwell Church Case Op.Cit. pp.22-24. Williams to Colonial Secretary, 16 March 1829; Reid to Garrett 22 March 1829; Colonial Secretary to Captain Wood and other settlers 22 April 1829; Colonial Secretary to Garrett 22 April 1829; Arthur's Minute 75, 22 April 1829.

<sup>22</sup>The Bothwell Church Case Op.Cit. pp.1,3,28,29. Evidence of G.A.McCaig and W.Foord; Williams to Colonial Secretary 31 October 1829; Foord to O'Connor 5 July 1830; Lieut.Governor to Reid 9 July 1830; c.f. Heyer Op.Cit. p.101. The comment here is hard to reconcile with the evidence.

<sup>23</sup>The Bothwell Church Case p.31; Wentworth to Colonial Secretary 15 February, 21 February 1831 with Arthur's Minute of 24 February 1831; Colonial Secretary to Drought 25 February 1831; c.f. also Clark's evidence p.2., and Foord's evidence p.3.

In August of 1836 Arthur approved a significant minute in which Bothwell Church was listed as Presbyterian. It is probable that Turnbull wrote the minute but as the Chief Justice pointed out later the Governor signed it and so made the comment his own.<sup>24</sup> It is not surprising that Garrett and his Presbyterian flock regarded the church building as specifically theirs with the visiting Anglican clergy allowed to officiate in it.

In 1837 when Hutchins and Mayers arrived, the Church of England gained two men who quickly won acceptance in the Clyde district. Their standing in the community and the determination of the Archdeacon to fulfil his duties meticulously did pose a threat to the status quo.<sup>25</sup> Hutchins reviewed the position with the Colonial Secretary and wrote to the Church wardens a letter in which he stated the claim of the Church of England to the Bothwell Church.<sup>26</sup> Since this letter was regarded by Lillie and other Presbyterians as the beginning of a campaign by Hutchins to oust them from the church, it is remarkable that the letter was not included in the documents put before the Council when the case was argued in 1830. Hutchins informed the Church wardens that Government documents showed that the church was always to be open to any minister of the

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<sup>24</sup>The Bothwell Church Case Op.Cit. p.34. Arthur's Minute 5 August 1836; Hobart Town Courier 2 October 1840; c.f. also Brown, P.L., Op.Cit. Vol I, p.465.

<sup>25</sup>Brown, O.L., Op.Cit. Vol.II, c.f. Mrs.Williams' comments on Hutchins and Mayers 23 January, 17 February 1837, pp.64,66.

<sup>26</sup>Hutchins to Schaw and Sharland 16 May 1837, LB p.20.

Church of England who might attend for the purpose of performing Divine Service, and "that it was to be given up entirely whenever an Episcopalian minister was appointed to it." Hutchins said that he was anxious for the real state of the case to be distinctly understood in the District in order that the right of the Anglican community to the building might not later be forgotten or questioned. He went on:

I have no wish that the Presbyterian Minister at Bothwell should be at all interfered with when desiring to perform Divine Service in the Church according to the rites of his own communion. It is sufficient for the present that our ministers officiate whenever they choose and that they do this on the ground of right, not of sufferance.<sup>27</sup>

Hutchins hoped that Mayers would be able to take a service at Bothwell each Sunday until such time as the Archdeacon could find a minister who would reside in the district. Acting on Hutchins's instructions Mayers gave notice that he would hold a service at a certain time without apparently consulting Garrett. The fact that Mayers did not turn up for the service did not strengthen his case nor help the Archdeacon.

Garrett responded to Mayers with the acerbity for which he was known. As "incumbent of the church at Bothwell" he would not give his sanction or consent in future for any service that would exclude a minister

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

of the Church of Scotland.<sup>28</sup> Mayers informed Hutchins who put the matter before the Governor.<sup>29</sup> Franklin noted that the Secretary of State had expressed the opinion in response to Arthur's query that the church could accommodate both congregations. The Church of Scotland could use the building at times when it was not required by the Church of England. The English minister was entitled to the use of the church and had the prior right of choosing his times, but he must inform the Presbyterian minister of the hours and not deviate from them. The right of occupation was "not a mixed right to be exercised simultaneously by both congregations but an interrupted right to be exercised by each at different times".<sup>30</sup> Garrett acquiesced though not without declaring that the Archdeacon wanted to exclude him and his congregation from the church, an allegation not borne out by the Archdeacon's letter of the 16th of May nor by an action on his part subsequent to the letter.<sup>31</sup> Montagu discussed Garrett's reply with Hutchins and the Archdeacon confirmed that he had never refused Garrett the use of the church nor had he expressed a wish to that end but expressly the contrary. He suggested that a

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<sup>28</sup>Garrett to Mayers 23 June 1837 C.S.O.5/49 and 50/1059.

<sup>29</sup>Mayers to Hutchins 29 June 1837; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 1 July 1837. LB p.49.

<sup>30</sup>Franklin's Minute 4 July 1837.C.S.O.5/49 and 50/1059; Colonial Secretary to Garrett 4 July 1837 in The Bothwell Church Case p.36.

<sup>31</sup>Garrett to Colonial Secretary 8 July 1837 in The Bothwell Church Case p.36.

copy of his letter to the church wardens be sent to Garrett with a note from the Colonial Secretary explaining how Hutchins "was erroneously led to conclude the building was ultimately to be given up entirely to the minister of the Church of England."<sup>32</sup>

Hutchins accepted the Government position that the two churches shared a right to use of the building, though Lillie persistently misrepresented him as claiming an exclusive right. What he would not accept was the gradual takeover of the property by the Presbyterians. Bishop Broughton was deeply concerned about the arrangements and asked the Governor to tell the Scottish managers that they did not own the Church.<sup>33</sup> In January of 1839 the Solicitor General examined the documents and gave a judgement in favour of the Anglicans, but Franklin, true to character, vacillated and was not prepared to act upon the legal judgement given. Hutchins meanwhile saw the Presbyterians becoming more arrogant; he could not allow people to take the property of the Church for which he had a care, though he had no wish to interfere in the religious life of the Presbyterians.<sup>34</sup>

Unfortunately for Hutchins, relations between Garrett and Mayers did not improve. Garrett was

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<sup>32</sup>Hutchins's note on Garrett's letter in Letter Book.

<sup>33</sup>Broughton to Franklin 25 May 1838 C.S.O.50/49 and 50/1059.

<sup>34</sup>Hutchins to Franklin 28 February 1839. C.S.O.5/49 and 50/1059, and Franklin's Minute; c.f. also Hutchins to Mayers, L.B.p.303.

obstructionist and stubborn about his assumed role as incumbent. Mayers for his part gave insufficient notice of intended services and then did not stick to the arrangements he had made.<sup>35</sup> Moreover the passing of the Church Act had clouded the issue and led the Presbyterians to petition the Governor to guarantee them "an equal participation in the right of property in the church, and to be placed upon a footing of perfect equality with the Episcopal portion of the population of the District, as respects the use of the Church, and the accommodation afforded by it."<sup>36</sup> What had been essentially an argument about right of use now became an argument about ownership; such is human nature that a claim to property was much more serious than a claim to use. The water was further muddied when the managers published the accounts of the Church of Scotland as if they owned the building. For this they were rebuked by Franklin through the Colonial Secretary because Franklin believed that the freehold of the building was vested in the Government. The rebuke was arrogantly rejected and a campaign was mounted to prove that the building belonged to the Church of Scotland.<sup>37</sup> In the face of this cam-

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<sup>35</sup>Hutchins to Mayers, July 1838. L.B.pp.288,290,292; Hutchins to Garrett July 1838. L.B.p.299.

<sup>36</sup>Mackersey to Colonial Secretary 5 September 1838 in The Bothwell Church Case Op.Cit.p.38.

<sup>37</sup>Forster to MacDowell, Russell, Barr 8 March 1839; Forster to Lillie 8 March 1839; Forster to Hutchins 8 March 1839; MacDowell to Forster 18,23 March 1839; Managers to Forster 11 April 1839; MacDowell to Lillie 22 April 1839; Lillie to Forster 17 May 1839; Wentworth to Garrett May 1839; Thomson to Forster 7 August 1839 in C.S.O.5/49 and 50/1059.



paigh Hutchins had to reconsider his position.

He had accepted Franklin's interpretation of Sir George Murray's dispatch of the 11th of November 1829 by which the Government owned the building and the two communions shared a right to use it, even though the arrangement was unsatisfactory. Now it seemed that the Presbyterians would override the Governor and take possession. In March of 1839 the Solicitor General had given a second legal opinion in which he argued that Arthur, the Colonial Governor, acted as the Ordinary of the Church of England in ordering the construction of the church with all the furnishings appropriate to an Anglican church. Arthur had further ordered the church to be opened by an Anglican priest and had clearly intended the building to be used for Anglican services.<sup>38</sup> In the light of this opinion Hutchins was not prepared to give up his claim to an absolute and prior right of use.

Lord John Russell replied to Franklin's query about the future of Bothwell church by declaring that the building would continue to be shared until one of the parties went to law or until the Church Act was amended to give the Presbyterians a legal charge on the buildings equivalent to their original contributions.<sup>39</sup> Lillie's claim to the property was unequivocally rejected by the Home Government.<sup>40</sup> Hutchins offered to pay whatever sum

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<sup>38</sup>Jones' opinion 7 March 1839 C.S.O.5/49 and 50/1059.

<sup>39</sup>Colonial Secretary to Hutchins 14 January 1839  
The Bothwell Church Case Op.Cit.p.39.

<sup>40</sup>Colonial Secretary to Lillie 1 May 1840  
The Bothwell Church Case Op.Cit.p.39.

was necessary to buy out the Presbyterians in accordance with the Secretary of State's instructions. But Sir John Franklin would not name a sum to determine the issue, and Lillie changed his stance to claim that the Church of Scotland owned the property wholly.<sup>41</sup> It is understandable that the Presbyterians should have been concerned at the prospect of losing the use of the church they had worshipped in for nine years; a protest against Lord John Russell's instructions would not have been surprising. But Lillie ignored the legal opinion both at home and in the colony, challenged the authority of the Governor, and did what had not been done before by claiming the whole title of the church building without even offering compensation to the Anglicans for whom the church had been planned and by whom most of the private contributions had been made.

What followed in the next few weeks illustrated the weakness of the Colonial Government; Arthur would never have tolerated the impertinence and arrogance with which Lillie treated Franklin. On the 21st of July 1840 the Reverend T.B. Naylor arrived in Bothwell to conduct a wedding under the explicit instruction of the

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<sup>41</sup> Colonial Secretary to Lillie 2 May 1840; Lillie to Colonial Secretary 2 July 1840; Colonial Sec. to Lillie 7 July 1840, Lillie to Colonial Secretary 14 July 1840; Colonial Secretary to Hutchins 16 July 1840; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 22 July 1840 The Bothwell Church Case. Op.Cit. pp.48,41.

Lieutenant Governor as well as of the Archdeacon. Naylor made it clear to Garrett who held the keys of the church that his use of the building was not to be regarded as prejudicial to the Presbyterian claim to own the property.<sup>42</sup> Despite Naylor's assurance Garrett barred him on the authority of the Presbytery.<sup>43</sup> The Colonial Secretary communicated the facts to Lillie who confirmed in a somewhat evasive letter that the Presbytery had assumed possession of the building and would prevent Anglicans from entering the building to take services.<sup>44</sup> The Colonial Secretary then wrote to Lillie a gentle but firm rebuke, reminding him that the claim to absolute possession was inconsistent with all past claims and that the affront to Naylor was an affront to the Governor.<sup>45</sup> Lillie replied with a long letter asserting that the church had always been Presbyterian and that Anglicans had been admitted as an act of favour; there had been no affront to the Governor because Naylor had acted on his own behalf.<sup>46</sup> Forster replied with a sharper letter pointing out that the Presbyterians were defying the

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<sup>42</sup>Naylor to Garrett 21 July, 1830. The Bothwell Church Case. Op.Cit. p.40

<sup>43</sup>Garrett to Naylor 21 July, 1840. The Bothwell Church Case. Op.Cit. p.41

<sup>44</sup>Colonial Secretary to Lillie 25 July, 1840; Lillie to Colonial Secretary 29 July, 1840, in The Bothwell Church Case. Op.Cit. pp. 41,42.

<sup>45</sup>Colonial Secretary to Lillie 31 July, 1840. The Bothwell Church Case. Op.Cit., p.42.

<sup>46</sup>Lillie to Colonial Secretary 8 August, 1830. The Bothwell Church Case. Op.Cit., pp.42-45.

Home Government as well as the Colonial Government, and referring Lillie to the specific terms of Naylor's request to Garrett about which Lillie had been inaccurate.<sup>47</sup> The Scottish "trumpet" was not however to be silenced by a vice regal admonition and he wrote again making further unsubstantiated claims, smug in the knowledge that possession was nine points of the law.<sup>48</sup> The Governor disdained to respond and prepared a Bill that would, he hoped, settle the matter.

On Saturday the 5th of September, Franklin laid on the table of the Legislative Council "An Act declaratory of the Rights of the Members of the United Church of England and Ireland to the exclusive use of the Church at Bothwell".<sup>49</sup> The Bill was again presented on the 10th, and on the 19th the first reading was further postponed. The delays were due to the sickness of the Solicitor General and the consequent difficulty of briefing the Crown Solicitor.<sup>50</sup> Before moving to the first reading the Crown had to prove the preamble of the Bill which set out the grounds on which was based the claim that the Government had built the Church for the members of the Church of England. Jones opened the case for

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<sup>47</sup>Colonial Secretary to Lillie 11 August 1840. The Bothwell Church Case.Op.Cit.pp.45,46.

<sup>48</sup>Lillie to Colonial Secretary 13 August 1840. The Bothwell Church Case.Op.Cit. p.46.

<sup>49</sup>Minutes of the Legislative Council 1837-1842 p.214.

<sup>50</sup>c.f. Correspondence between Colonial Secretary, Crown Solicitor and Solicitor-General through September 1840 in C.S.O.5/49 and 50/1059.

the Crown on the 22nd of September, and witnesses were called whose evidence occupied four days. Thomas Chisholm Anstey, a lapsed Catholic, led the opposition and spoke to the Council Members for four hours on the justice of the Presbyterian claim. Jones's summing up occupied six hours.<sup>51</sup>

Eventually on the 3rd of November the Bill came before the Council for a first reading. The key figure was the Chief Justice who virtually controlled the balance of power on this issue. Clearly the Presbyterian supporters and their banker would oppose the Bill while the Governor's officials would support it.<sup>52</sup> However the Crown case had been inadequately prepared and the ailing Solicitor-General with his assistants was poorly briefed. The fact of possession and Arthur's ill-considered minute were hurdles not easily jumped, and the Chief Justice could foresee the difficulty of implementing the Bill if it ever became law. His vote against the first reading tied the numbers and the consideration of the Bill was deferred sine die.<sup>53</sup> Ironically, if

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<sup>51</sup>Minutes of the Legislative Council 1837-1842 pp.224,226,227,230,231; True Colonist 11 September 1840; Hobart Town Courier 25 September, 2 October 1840. Hobart Town Advertiser 25 September, 2 October 1840; The Bothwell Church Case.Op.Cit.

<sup>52</sup>The Colonial Secretary, the Auditor, the Collector of Customs, the Attorney-General, Mr. Spode and Mr. Fenton voted for the Bill; the Colonial Treasurer, the Chief Justice and Messrs.Ashburner, Anstey, McLachlan, and Swanston voted against it.

<sup>53</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser 10 November 1840.

Hutchins had taken his seat on the Council as Franklin had wished, the Bothwell Church Bill would have passed, but the Archdeacon stuck to his principles and absented himself. Even allowing for the disappointment which the Presbyterians felt at the decisions of Murray and Lord John Russell, it is hard to justify the personal vendetta against Hutchins and Lillie's cavalier dealing with the truth.<sup>54</sup> Franklin had been irresolute and had not been well served by his law officers. So there remained yet another injustice which Hutchins had to bear, another issue that he would have to take to the Home Government, having failed to persuade the Colonial Government to take action, another setback to his plan of establishing a national Church in a Christian country.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Colonial Secretary to Lillie 11 August 1830.  
The Bothwell Church Case.Op.Cit.p.45.

<sup>55</sup>c.f. Franklin to Hutchins 17 August 1840.  
G.O. 52/8 p.81. A.O.T.



## CHAPTER 14

### HUTCHINS'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Although Hutchins did not attend the Legislative Council after he had taken the oath as a member of that body in the first session of 1837 he continued to attend meetings of the Executive Council. Having established his right to sit on the Legislative Council, the Arch-deacon had no desire to embarrass the Governor by disagreeing with him in public and he resisted Franklin's attempts to persuade him to take his seat. In the private confidentiality of the Executive Council however Hutchins was ready to proffer advice when asked to do so and his views on a number of topics reveal his wisdom and humanity as well as a pragmatism typical of a Peelite conservative. His opinion on the convict assignment system is one example.

The prosperity of Van Diemen's Land depended to a considerable extent on the supply of convict workers and servants provided under the assignment system which distributed men and women throughout the Island without much regard to the suitability of the masters. Reformers in Britain considered that there should be more uniformity in the punishment of offenders who were transported and they persuaded the home government to consider a probation system. Alexander Maconochie, who came out with Hutchins as Franklin's private secretary, also had the task of reporting on the penal system to the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline. His views were formed

in England and what he saw confirmed his opinion that transportation as practised was not an effective punishment and that assignment should be discontinued.

Maconochie's theories were known and discussed in the Executive Council in 1837 but there was no widespread debate until the end of 1838.<sup>1</sup>

On the 3rd of August 1838, William Molesworth presented to the House of Commons his Report of the Select Committee on Transportation.<sup>2</sup> The debate on the treatment of convicts which was smouldering in Van Diemen's Land came alight with the publication of Alexander Maconochie's comments on Prison Discipline in the colony,<sup>3</sup> and the consequent publication of the view of the Governor and the Executive Council at the end of 1838.<sup>4</sup>

Hutchins had made his own views known in August of 1837 and they cast light not only on his own character but on the narrowness of Maconochie's understanding.<sup>5</sup> Hutchins offered his advice "not to indulge unreasonable expectations from the working of any possible system" but to encourage theoretical disciplinarians to move

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. Fitzpatrick Op.Cit. pp.155-163; c.f. also Tasmanian Year Book 1969, p.7.

<sup>2</sup> c.f. P.P.1837, 1838 XXIII, 669.

<sup>3</sup> Maconochie, A. Report on the State of Prison Discipline in Van Diemen's Land (London: J.W.Parker, 1838); Australian Thoughts on Convict Management, London: J.W.Parker, 1839.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Murray's Review, 25 September; 9, 16, 30 October; 6 November; 11, 18, 25 December 1838; 8, 22 January 1839.

<sup>5</sup> Hutchins, W., Comments in Executive Council Minutes 28 August 1837.

from the impracticable to the practicable. He warned against devising a system which seemed excellent until it was realised that the system could only work if administered by ideal people. Such people could not be trained into being what they were not:

Talent may no doubt be cultivated, the judgement matured, habits acquired, and the disposition improved; but unless you have the elements of talent and judgement in the natural constitution of the man as well as an aptitude for acquiring habits and a disposition benevolently inclined in a more than common degree, you can never reasonably look to produce in him by any process whatever that tact, forbearance and persevering self-denial which are essentially necessary to fit him for taking a useful part in the management of a mass of human beings so depraved as convicts commonly are, preparing and enabling him patiently to continue his benevolent efforts for their improvement in spite of opposition, ingratitude, or even ill success.

Apart from a mastery of English expression there is here a pragmatism which does not always moderate reforming zeal. Hutchins asked where men were to be found with the necessary qualities; it seemed to him that the praise lavished upon such people indicated that they were rare, and yet hundreds were expected to spring up where only one

had existed who could operate the theoretical machinery to produce at once "a millennial age of righteousness and truth, peace and love, amongst highwaymen, thieves, and burglars."<sup>6</sup>

He conceded that his short time in the colony did not allow him to comment on the assignment system, implying that Maconochie might well have been equally modest. Nevertheless he felt able to doubt if the system prevented crime at home or reformed characters in the colony. While it was not true to say, as some did, that the poor courted punishment in order to be transported Hutchins knew from his experience in England that they were not afraid of it, any more than they feared other forms of punishment. He thought it possible that sending convicts to public work gangs would be regarded as a more formidable punishment than assignment, but he thought it would operate unfavourably on the morals of prisoners, because being together they would influence each other badly. He was happily surprised that the conduct of prisoners in the colony was far better than he had imagined; three quarters of them behaved as well as "the great bulk of the labouring population of Great Britain." Such conduct he felt to be a likely result of the assignment system and was to its credit.

Hutchins agreed with Maconochie that in the colony there might be few examples of "deep contrition, evidenced to be genuine by its fruits, by compensation made and

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

shame expressed and pardon sought for injuries formerly inflicted",<sup>7</sup> but he thought from his parochial experience that in highly favoured England there would likewise be few examples of such contrition. He agreed too that religious instruction of convicts was easier when they were gathered in road gangs rather than separated on assignment, but this advantage was balanced by the ill effects of the convicts being continually together. He agreed that the assignment system was probably unfair in its operation, but he considered that fairness could not be guaranteed under any punishment system.

Hutchins raised one objection to the assignment system which Maconochie had not mentioned. The masters of the assigned servants were strongly tempted to break the regulations in order to get more work out of their convicts, and this led to a disregard of the law and to a relaxation of moral principles. When considering the baneful effects of the assignment system upon settlers, Hutchins had this comment:

there are many honourable exceptions, but I cannot conceal from myself nor ought others when reasoning upon this ground to forget, that there are not a few settlers who were men of dissipated habits, broken fortunes, and ruined characters before they left home, and such men are not often of a very meek and lamb-like spirit. They probably came

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

hither in the hope of being less under control than they were in England, as well as of having a better opportunity of repairing their shattered fortunes, and that fretfulness of temper which exists among them mostly breaks out in contentions about property.<sup>8</sup>

When such men had convicts as servants neither settler nor prisoner was helped. Hutchins's opinion about the effects upon the community was confirmed by John Dixon's observations in his book The Condition and Capabilities of Van Diemen's Land in which the comment was made that wealth was highly honoured and society was split up into parties, jealous, arrogant, and rancorous towards each other. Sociality, said Dixon, entered into no circle; friendship was seldom found; every house was a hermitage; and company was found only in the tavern or at the billiard table.<sup>9</sup> Maconochie himself had stressed the difficulty of achieving reform in a harsh, peremptory and overbearing society where every difference made a quarrel and every act of the Government constituted a ground of complaint.<sup>10</sup> To expect much reformation among the convicts in such an environment was overly optimistic, as Hutchins realised.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Dixon, John, The Condition and Capabilities of Van Diemen's Land (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1839) p.52.

<sup>10</sup>Maconochie, Alexander, Australian Thoughts on Convict Management (London: J.W.Parker, 1839) p.6.



Hutchins agreed that Governor Arthur had been condemned by some because of the assignment system, but pointed out that Arthur was unpopular among those who approved of the system. In general, Arthur's administration of the convicts had been regarded as the most successful part of his career in Van Diemen's Land. The Archdeacon doubted whether the "mere transit from one hemisphere to another" would make idle men industrious, or whether the proposed changes would prepare convicts any better for a life of freedom. He favoured the emigration of wives rather than a procedure of forced divorce such as had been suggested. He disputed the assertion that Anglican clergy were less well liked by the convicts than Dissenting ministers. Hutchins had a special comment to make on the remarks of Captain Cheyne in "Observations of the Director General of Roads and Bridges on Penal Discipline" a paper which seems to have been written as a result of Cheyne's investigations in the ordinance department.<sup>11</sup> Cheyne saw great disadvantages in the existing convict system by which prisoners were employed both by private individuals and in public works: unwilling labourers, indifferent overseers, defective workmanship, pilfering, high consumption of spirits, temptations to crime and to abscond, bad discipline, and competition with free emigrant mechanics. His solution was to employ convicts only in road gangs where the discipline was rigorous and detention secure

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<sup>11</sup> c.f. Colonial Secretary's Correspondence C.S.O. 5/94 p.187 et passim; Maconochie, Alexander, Summary of Papers on Convict Discipline (Bath: Meyler and Son, 1838) pp.15, 44-47.

not only by virtue of high walls and chains but because they were used only in the country where escape was more difficult than in the town. Cheyne would use scripture readers of his own choosing to bring moral instruction to the convicts. Hutchins took particular exception to Captain Cheyne's charge that ministers of the Church of England were "pharisaical and uncharitable". He drew attention to the fact that while Cheyne was contemptuous of the efforts of others to promote the good of the convicts he expressed "extreme satisfaction with himself on account of his own endeavours". Hutchins could not believe that Cheyne's selection of clever rogues to give religious instruction was the right way to teach Eternal Truth. Hutchins deplored the "miserable policy" that had placed here and there a Chaplain in the centre of an extensive district so that his task was almost impossible, and he hoped that adequate provision would be made for a Christian ministry among the convicts before contemplating changes that were supposed to achieve miraculous results.

Hutchins can be criticised for not sharing the idealism of some of the reformers in the matter of convict discipline, but he could see that whatever changes might be made, the problems of a penal settlement would not be resolved without the greatest difficulty. He was not against change and he did not defend the assignment system, but he appreciated that it might be preferable to the reforms that were then being mooted. His comments about Maconochie's lack of logic and about the unreliability

of Cheyne as a witness highlight the oddity of the fact that the only contemporary officials whose ideas were considered by the Molesworth Committee were these two men whose opinions ran counter to the views of almost every other responsible observer. Franklin's own remarks to Glenelg were clearly influenced by Hutchins's advice.<sup>12</sup>

Another problem which arose in 1838 concerned the future of the Aborigines of Flinders Island. In 1835 George Augustus Robinson had been sent to take charge of the Flinders establishment. For three years he led them optimistically along the road to European civilisation. A major drawback was the great mortality among them; however it was claimed that those who survived were relatively happy, contented and useful.<sup>13</sup> In 1838 the Aborigines petitioned to be removed to Port Phillip and Franklin sought the advice of the Executive Council. On the proposal to remove the Tasmanian Aborigines from Flinders Island, Hutchins was cautious. He noted that the rate of mortality had diminished and that the Aborigines might have found an environment that was more suitable than that in which they previously had been placed. He recommended the taking of one family to Port Phillip and the bringing to Van Diemen's Land of

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<sup>12</sup>Franklin to Glenelg 28 May 1839 quoted in Fitzpatrick, *Op.Cit.* p.163; c.f. Townsend, Norma, "The Molesworth Enquiry: does the Report fit the Evidence" in *Journal of Australian Studies* No.1 June 1977 p.33 points out that the only witnesses on Van Diemen's Land were the Former Governor and two former surgeons and concludes that the Committee made a "very cursory examination".

<sup>13</sup>Roth, H.Ling, *The Aborigines of Tasmania* 2nd Ed. (Halifax, F.King & Sons 1899) Facsimile published by Fullers Bookshop Pty Ltd. Hobart. pp.5,6.

one or two families in order to see how those families flourished before making a major decision to break up the establishment in Flinders Island.<sup>14</sup> How far the advice was sound in terms of ensuring the survival of the Aborigines it is not possible to say, but Hutchins's comments showed that he did not share the antipathy of his fellow colonists toward the Blacks.<sup>15</sup>

In September of 1838 there was a sharp controversy between Dr. Arthur, the Medical Superintendent, and Surgeon Bedford, his subordinate. Bedford was charged with insubordination because he acted contrary to Dr. Arthur's orders with respect to the gatekeeper at the hospital. Hutchins, in advising the Governor, maintained that the appointment or change of attendants at the hospital should not be the responsibility of someone who only visited occasionally, and could not know individuals well enough to judge their qualifications. This was not only wise counsel but brave, since Hutchins would seem to have been opposing a senior officer with influential friends. He went further:

I strongly advise your Excellency not to continue Dr. Arthur in any situation of authority in which the limits of his power are not very strictly defined, since it is most obvious from the way he conducted himself in this room towards your Excellency

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<sup>14</sup>Executive Council Minutes 24 December 1838.

<sup>15</sup>c.f. Fitzpatrick, Op.Cit. p.11.

that if there is a possibility of disagreement such is the instability of his temper and his entire want of control over it, that it is sure to arise between himself and his subordinates.<sup>16</sup>

The Archdeacon was no time-server and his fearless impartiality must have been comforting to a Governor who was under continual pressure from interested and influential parties.

When Edward MacDowell, the Attorney General, resigned because he could not in conscience support a Bill setting up a special tribunal to deal with breaches of the Distillation Act,<sup>17</sup> Hutchins advised the Governor not to accept the resignation. Hutchins argued that MacDowell had carried out his proper task by giving legal advice to the best of his ability, and that it would be wrong for the Attorney General to change his considered opinion because of a vote in the Legislative Council.<sup>18</sup> He also opposed the appointment of Jones to MacDowell's post on the ground that as Solicitor General he had concurred in the legal opinion against the Bill. Hutchins's judgement was proved correct for, within a month, MacDowell was restored to office. The breach between the two senior law officers arising from Jones's willingness to climb

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<sup>16</sup>Executive Council Minutes 20 September 1838.

<sup>17</sup>Fitzpatrick.Op.Cit. pp.211,212.

<sup>18</sup>Executive Council Minutes 30 August 1839.

Executive Council Minutes 31 August, 2,4,12,23 September 1839. Executive Council Minutes 27, 28 Dec.1839.

over MacDowell by altering his own opinion on a technicality was not easily resolved. Hutchins advised Franklin to rebuke Jones for making allegations about MacDowell without being prepared to substantiate them. However, he felt sorry for Jones when the Hobart Town Courier, edited by the Attorney General's brother, published articles reflecting on the character of the Solicitor General and he then advised that MacDowell should be similarly rebuked for his obvious connection with these articles. Hutchins was more humane than the remainder of the Executive Council and he would not go so far as to recommend that Franklin suspend MacDowell if he could not prevent articles against Jones appearing in future editions of the Courier, so long as it was clear that the Attorney General had nothing to do with them.<sup>19</sup>

In May of 1840 it was suggested to Franklin that the Colonial Government should assist in the formation of a South Port Coal Company and supply convict labour for the project. The Governor was interested in the prospect of obtaining cheap coal and intended to sink an experimental shaft; he also planned to recommend the project to the Secretary of State. Hutchins recommended against proceeding with the scheme since the Home Government would almost certainly not countenance the assigning of convict labour to a private company and Franklin would suffer a rebuff. He also pointed out that the favouring

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<sup>19</sup>Executive Council Minutes 16 January 1840.



of one company with cheap labour would give that company a virtual monopoly and such action would be unfair to the private persons who were searching for coal on the Coal River using only their own resources. If the Government took over the new coal mine instead, that would throw open the future of the workings at Port Arthur and Hutchins had some comments about the implications of such a step. Finally he stressed that if coal found at South Port were of good quality there would be no shortage of capitalists anxious to benefit from the discovery.<sup>20</sup>

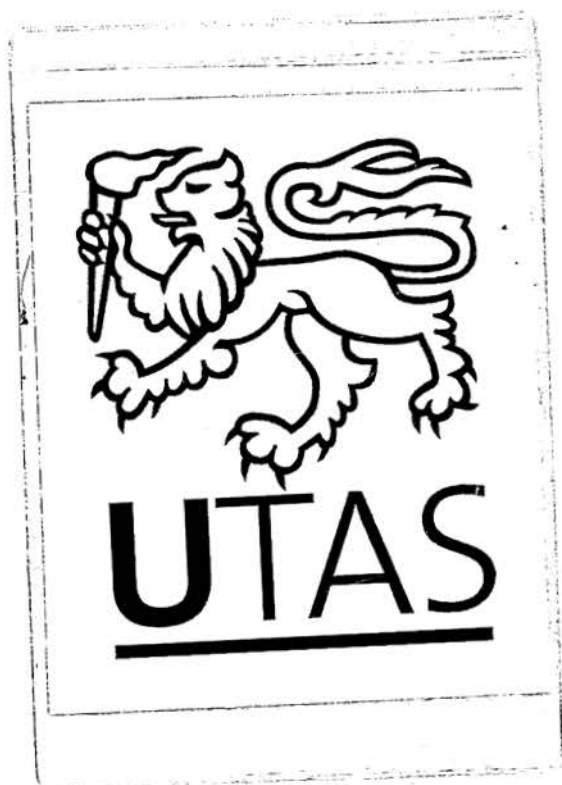
The significance of the Archdeacon's role as an Executive Councillor and Franklin's appreciation of his contribution are equally clear.<sup>21</sup> On almost all major issues he presented the viewpoint of the Head of the Church, and in so doing maintained the principle that political decisions involved the consideration of Christian teaching because the society being governed was a Christian society. In such a society the issues were not merely political, social and economic; they were religious and moral as well. Wise counsel and leadership were needed in this area if government was to be benign and in the best interests of the governed; it was the role of the church to provide that advice. The values that underpinned society and determined the direction in which society would move were Christian values; without

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<sup>20</sup>Executive Council Minutes 19 May 1840;  
Executive Council Minutes 25 May 1840.

<sup>21</sup>Franklin to Glenelg 25 October 1838.G.O.29/D/130/507.  
c.f. Executive Council Minutes 27 May 1839.

them the community would begin to disintegrate under the onslaught of relativism and individualism as had happened in the French Revolution. Hutchins believed it was the powerful presence of a national church which ensured the preservation of those values and which gave the inhabitants of a country the inclination to be ruled by them.



CHAPTER 15  
GAINS AND LOSSES

Throughout 1840 Hutchins continued his fight against the new Education system and at the end of August petitioned the Governor to assist the Church of England to maintain its own schools.<sup>1</sup> He pointed out that Bible teaching had been abandoned, that the system approved by Council and welcomed in certain petitions had been changed, authorities of every denomination deprecated the arrangements currently in force, and that the Board was unreliable in its reports. Hutchins showed that the increase in numbers had been overestimated by three hundred and twenty three, and that in any case the slight increase of thirty four was accounted for by the opening of two schools which had been planned by him before the Board took over. He strongly objected to the implication that he had neglected the schools during his administration.<sup>2</sup> But he seems to have made little impact on the Governor who forwarded his own appraisal of the developments in education to the Secretary of State together with documents supporting Franklin's own views; Hutchins's petition was omitted from this collection of documents for reasons that were not given.<sup>3</sup> The impression was conveyed to the Secretary of State that "little or nothing had been done

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<sup>1</sup>Loch, Op.Cit. p.XLVI.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. pp.XLVI - LVI.

<sup>3</sup>Hutchins to Campbell, 19 March 1841 U.S.P.G.2824/41.

prior to the existence of the Board, compared with what might have been done",<sup>4</sup> compelling Hutchins to forward to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel his own account of what had actually taken place. Hutchins felt he was battling against "a false liberality",<sup>5</sup> and considered it likely that Franklin's book of documents would be tabled in the House of Commons in order to substantiate a charge of mismanagement against the clergy and himself, in which case a member of the Society who was also a member of Parliament would be able to call for the Archdeacon's report on the issue.<sup>6</sup>

Without much success, Hutchins warned that "secularism" was on the march, and he knew that a sign of the times was the neglect of religious knowledge and a preoccupation with the material goods of this world.<sup>7</sup> For him, as for Broughton, the "Spirit of the Age" was not an altruistic liberalism but a sordid self interest and a neglect of eternal truth. Franklin, like Bourke, turned out to be a trimmer.<sup>8</sup> There were those who rejoiced in a period when the spirit of the age required the civil power to be neutral in matters of

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<sup>4</sup>Hutchins to Campbell 4 March 1841, U.S.P.G. 2823/41.

<sup>5</sup>Loch, Op.Cit. p.XLVIII.

<sup>6</sup>Hutchins to Campbell 4 March 1841, U.S. P.G.2823/41.

<sup>7</sup>Hutchins. A Letter on the schools question, Op.Cit. p.11,12; The Guardian, Vol.1, No.1., p.1., March 1837.

<sup>8</sup>Shaw, G.P., Patriarch and Patriot (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1978) pp.78,79.

religion, and saw indifference to religious feeling as an essential factor in the growth of unity.<sup>9</sup> But in Tasmania, Frederick Maitland Innes agreed with Hutchins that instruction unaccompanied by religion was in the main a dangerous and pernicious thing.<sup>10</sup> The problem was that the so-called liberals drained religion of all its doctrinal content and equated it with a vague feeling of warmth which was generated by doing good works. Hutchins knew with Paul of Tarsus that ethical performance grew out of doctrinal certitude and if the latter were not secured the former would slowly disappear in a flood of self interest. More particularly each new generation would be increasingly oblivious of its eternal destiny.<sup>11</sup>

John McGarvie, the leader of the Established Scottish Church in New South Wales, believed that the daily press had replaced the Bible and the sermon as a major influence in the lives of the people.<sup>12</sup> Hutchins, on the other hand, was convinced that what was taught in the schools was the crucial issue.<sup>13</sup> There was a small but vigorous opposition to the teaching of religious knowledge because of the utilitarian stress on calculability and verifiability and the consequent view that

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<sup>9</sup>c.f.Nadel, George, Australia's Colonial Culture Op.Cit. pp.252,253, quotes Carmichael, Westgarth and Therry on this issue.

<sup>10</sup>Innes, F.M., Advantages of the General Dissemination of Knowledge especially by Mechanic and Kindred Institutions (Hobart: W.G.Elliston, 1838)p.15.

<sup>11</sup>c.f.Hutchins, A Letter on the Schools Question Op.Cit. p.5.

<sup>12</sup>McGarvie, John, Diary 1843-1847, 4 January 1844.MS in the Mitchell Library quoted by Nadel.Op.Cit.p.242.

<sup>13</sup>c.f.Hutchins, A Letter on the Schools Question Op.Cit. p.16.

religious doctrine was not knowledge but opinion. Once the secularists had rejected the validity of metaphysical categories it was a short step to claim that education was concerned with the communication of knowledge and not the inculcation of opinion.<sup>14</sup> It was easy too for liberals to denigrate the teaching of the church as restrictive and authoritarian especially in a new colony without any ecclesiastical tradition. People obsessed with material prosperity and comfort were glad to have a respectable reason for ignoring the directions of the church concerning their money, manners, and morals. The prophets of secularism, though few, were popular and as Hutchins indicated were every whit as dogmatic as they accused the Church of being.<sup>15</sup>

In all his writing about education Hutchins warned that a new sect that was unsectarian would come into being, as had been evidenced in the London University, and was on the way to commanding for its propagation all the resources of the State. Catholics in New South Wales were to follow him when they described National Education as a misnomer for a persecuting sectarianism.<sup>16</sup> The writings of Tom

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<sup>14</sup>Nadel, Op. cit. pp. 262, 263 explicates the views of Carmichael.

<sup>15</sup>c.f. Suttor, T.L., Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia 1788-1870 (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press 1965) pp. 8, 9, 243; Loch, Op. Cit. p. XV. Note: As Suttor has pointed out the conditions of appointment for the University of Melbourne's foundation professors made pious references to free enquiry, rational objectivity, scientific neutrality and the rest, a kind of double talk.

<sup>16</sup>Suttor, Op. Cit. pp. 243, 267, 268; Hutchins, A Letter on the Schools Question, Op. Cit. pp. 10, 11.



Paine and the early writings of James Mackintosh with other radical writers in the Fox tradition were reflected in the provocative works of the aspiring parson, G.M.C.Bowen, Charles Harpur, the poet, and Henry Melville, the editor of the Colonial Times, and this modernist writing cast sufficient doubt on orthodox Christianity in order to justify the practical atheism into which a number of the colonists were falling.<sup>17</sup> Hutchins was convinced that doctrinal instruction in the school was a vital element in the maintenance of the Christian faith in the face of the attack from secularism; what was clearly valued in the schools would be valued to some extent, by the children; they would give little credence to something that was not important enough to be included in the curriculum.<sup>18</sup> The Courier warned that the "appearance of great liberality" was deluding people into the sanction of a pernicious principle which could not fail in after years to result in injury to society not merely with regard to the four first rules of arithmetic but with the rules of morality and good conduct;<sup>19</sup> Hutchins pleaded for a more Christian system; Franklin, preoccupied with Christ College, was unmoved.

Sadly, Hutchins moved out of his offices with his loyal clerk, Swain, and one "standing desk", with scrupulous care and honesty returned all his furniture and equipment to the

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<sup>17</sup>Barrett, Op.Cit., pp.167-169.

<sup>18</sup>Loch Op.Cit. pp. XIV-XVII.

<sup>19</sup>Hobart Town Courier 3 January 1840.

government store, and remained aloof from the general educational scene which had taken so much of his energy for two and a half years, though he continued to fight for a fair and truly Christian system.<sup>20</sup> Nor was Hutchins to find solace in the founding of a Grammar School in Launceston for that project was delayed by a clash of personalities.<sup>21</sup>

Complementary to the work of the school in the task of "Christianization" was the role of the parish with its church services, but Hutchins encountered setbacks in the provision of church buildings, which were so essential if Christianity was to be institutionalized as part of the culture. For example, little progress had been made in raising funds for the new Trinity Church. The inhabitants of that part of town were not wealthy and could not raise the sum needed for the building of an appropriate City church;<sup>22</sup> they had probably been spoiled as well by the availability of the penitentiary chapel in Brisbane Street. What upset Hutchins was the unwillingness of members of other parishes to assist with donations to Trinity while

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<sup>20</sup>Hutchins to Manley 2 September, 1839, L.B.No.2, p.8; Hutchins to Garrard 23 August 1839, 10 September 1839, L.B.No.2, p.14, 15. Note: with the loss of the educational supervision, Hutchins disposed of his office apartments in the City and a number of articles including 2 desk stools, 6 writing desks, 6 hair-bottomed chairs, 1 washing stand, 1 table, 3 cane chairs, 1 office desk with side cupboards, 2 presses, 2 carpets, 2 sets of fire irons, 2 fenders, 1 coal scuttle, 548 Bibles, 43 copybooks, 3 quires of paper, 171 slates, 41 packets of slate pencils, 14 ink stands, 1 jug, 1 box.

<sup>21</sup>Hutchins to Hill 22 October 1839, L.B.No.2, p.22; Hutchins to Gibbon 17 January 1840, L.B.No.2, p.31; Hutchins to Campbell 4 March 1841, U.S.P.G.2823/41; Browne, Diary Op.Cit. 2 January 1840.

<sup>22</sup>S.P.C.K. Annual Report 1840 p.69.

they were happy to contribute to Catholic and Dissenting chapels; he was not against such generosity but he felt that Anglicans should assist their own poor at least as much. Hutchins asked his flock for sacrificial giving, and would have been moderately content to receive some of the money that was spare or "spent on vice";<sup>23</sup> but many members of the Church of England having fulfilled their local obligations, were apparently more willing to exhibit their religious tolerance than their Anglican loyalty. The Archdeacon must have found this attitude the more galling when he discovered the Presbyterian duplicity at Talisker near Evandale.

William Carr who owned land in the White Hills district not far from Evandale had promised an acre to the Archdeacon so that a church could be built for the inhabitants of the district who were largely Anglican. Carr was visited by the Presbyterian minister, Robert Russell, and told that Edward Freeman, the local Anglican chaplain, did not intend to proceed with a building at Talisker, that an Act of Council prohibited the building of another church within ten miles of Evandale, and that an insufficient number of people were prepared to subscribe to the project. At this interview Carr seems to have suggested that the land be held by trustees and that each denomination could build on the site as required. However, Russell visited Carr on a second occasion with

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<sup>23</sup>Hutchins, Sermon on behalf of the Van Diemen's Land Committee, Op.Cit. p.41.

deeds of transfer for the acre site, and persuaded him to sign over the land to the Presbyterians, though Carr claimed later that he did not understand the portion of the documents which Russell read to him.<sup>24</sup> Hutchins recounted the story to Russell as he had heard it and added:

Since the information given Carr (as he states by you) was upon both points altogether incorrect, I think it due to you to forward his statements in order that you may should you think it advisable, explain a circumstance which as I am at present informed appears hardly consistent with fair and honourable dealing

Within a month Hutchins had allocated fifty pounds to a church at Talisker and a church was built in the following years "on the summit of a hill commanding an extensive and varied view."<sup>25</sup>

The Archdeacon was also finding it difficult to get a chapel built for the prisoners at Launceston because, although the Colonial Government had accepted the responsibility of providing a building, "red tape" was delaying progress. Different departments at home and in

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<sup>24</sup>Carr, William, Two depositions 24 November 1840, copied in L.B.No.2, pp.78-81; Carr to Russell, 24 November 1840 copy in L.B.No.2, p.78.

<sup>25</sup>Mereweather, J.D., Diary of a Working Clergyman, (London: Hatchard, 1859) p.48; Hutchins to Broughton 22 January 1841 U.S.P.G.2823/41.

the colony had to arrange between them the mode of proceeding; meanwhile no church was built. There was no hurry on the part of government to spend money on the Church; both the press and the Legislative Council advocated strict economy, and the Colonial Treasury was having to bear many of the costs that had once been met in London.<sup>26</sup> At the same time the change from the assignment system for convicts to a regime of probationary gangs increased the need for convict facilities, nor was there any reduction in the flow of prisoners. While Hutchins was seeking to establish a network of parishes covering the main settlements he was being asked to minister to a growing number of road gangs with a complement of clergy below the agreed number.<sup>27</sup> People in England maintained their good character because of the oversight of those by whom they were continually surrounded. When they emigrated to a country where oversight was withdrawn, where a convict presence was ubiquitous, and where hardship and difficulty encouraged self interest, it was too easy for people to abandon principles unless there were people and places to remind them of their obligations.<sup>28</sup> Hutchins made it clear to the Governor that the members of a clergyman's congregation were his first responsibility but

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<sup>26</sup>c.f. Barrett, Op.Cit. pp.45, 53, 54.

<sup>27</sup>Hutchins to Campbell 4 March 1841 U.S.P.G.2823/41.

<sup>28</sup>Kiddle, M. Men of Yesterday, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1961)p.103; Franklin to Citizens of Campbell Town in the Launceston Advertiser 4 October 1838.

he was anxious to provide religious instruction for the prisoners whenever possible. In walking the fine line between independence and obligation, Hutchins was not helped by the slackness of Bedford Junior in visiting the gaol at Campbelltown.<sup>29</sup> Bedford was also slow in supplying information for the Bishop, as was his obstinate father, so that Hutchins was delayed in producing half yearly returns for the diocese.<sup>30</sup>

Bedford Senior too must have presented Hutchins with a considerable pastoral problem, for he seems to have been in trouble of one kind or another throughout their years of association. The impression given by the correspondence is that the Archdeacon was endlessly patient; he needed to be, since the Chaplain of St. David's seemed incorrigible. In October of 1840, Hutchins had to remind him of a long standing debt for the work of convicts at the church. Hutchins had given his word to the Colonial Secretary that the debt would be settled at once, on the strength of Bedford's personal promise, and the Archdeacon expressed his disappointment that the promise had not been kept. Clergy like this were not meticulous about the administrative requirements of a law such as the Registration Act, and they failed to send the Registrar the necessary quarterly returns. The Registrar assumed that the clergy were going to be

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<sup>29</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Junior 17 May 1841.L.B.No.2.p.89.

<sup>30</sup>Hutchins to Bedford Junior, 2 April 1840, 14 Sept. 1840; Hutchins to Bedford Senior, 2 April 1840, 14 Sept. 1840, 16 March 1841. L.B. No.2.,p.51,89.



deliberately obstructionist and threatened legal action. Hutchins was distressed by the threat and suggested to the Colonial Secretary that if registration books were printed in duplicate returns would be simpler. Even though he might have been disappointed by the secularising of marriage, Hutchins had no thought of not co-operating with the civil power.<sup>31</sup> Indeed his vision splendid of the church included a role for it as counsellor and supporter of the government which he was not yet prepared to abandon.

There was a strong reason for Hutchins's patience with his clergy; few of them had much financial security in a period when the government was seeking to withdraw from its financial commitment to them without having established the endowments which had been envisaged in the early days of the colony. Salary problems, which have already been noted, persisted; Morris of Oatlands and Mayers of Hamilton were again in straitened circumstances due, in Hutchins's view, to inefficiency and boorishness on the part of the Government. These two chaplains had been meanly treated from the day of their landing in Van Diemen's Land, and Hutchins had already organised a fund to assist Mayers.<sup>32</sup> In October of 1839 Morris found that twenty pounds had been deducted from his monthly salary of about twenty four pounds, the treasury claiming that it was owed to the Government because of

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<sup>31</sup> Hutchins to Clergy 17 August 1839, L.B.No.2, p.6;  
Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 20 August 1839, L.B.No.2, p.6.  
Hutchins to Abbott 14 January 1841, L.B.No.2, pp.81, 82;  
Hutchins to Clergy 21 January 1841, L.B.No.2, p.83.

<sup>32</sup> Browne, Diary Op.Cit. 30 September 1839.

over payment in 1838. Hutchins argued that the Legislative Council had not been specifically asked about the issue of house allowance and the change in rate from fifty pounds to thirty pounds for 1839 had been made on the casting vote of the Governor, which was contrary to practice. The allowance had been paid by the treasury throughout 1838 as if it had been authorised and Morris had received it in good faith; the man should not now be penalised to cover the Government's errors. Nor was it right, Hutchins thought, to stop a clergyman's salary to secure a debt. If the Government now interpreted a Council decision of 1838 as having immediate and retrospective effect they should have acted then and not twelve months later. The matter clearly was a dispute between the clergyman and the government and should go to a special tribunal; it was wrong for the Government to arbitrate in its own disputes. Furthermore a letter in 1838 from the Colonial Secretary indicated that fifty pounds house allowance would be paid. Hutchins insisted that Morris should not be forced to pay back the twenty pounds.<sup>33</sup> The Archdeacon knew how difficult it would be to obtain dedicated service from clergy who were harried financially, and he tried over a long period to regain glebe allowances for Palmer and Bedford Junior.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 15 November, 2 December, 11 December 1839, L.B.No.2. pp.37-46, 32, 33.

<sup>34</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 29 April 1840, L.B.No.2.p.64.

Hutchins found that Franklin was tinkering with clergy emoluments without telling him, and also misleading the Secretary of State over Hutchins's claims of injustice.<sup>35</sup>

Franklin, without receiving instructions from London, proceeded with the sale of the large Campbell Town glebe, so desperate was he to improve the finances of the Colonial Government. Hutchins could only protest once again and ask for his protest to be forwarded to the Secretary of State.<sup>36</sup> He continued the fight on behalf of Palmer's right to a glebe though he must have known it was a hopeless struggle.<sup>37</sup> Fry was yet another victim of the Government's meanness. The advance of one hundred and fifty pounds to him because of losses by shipwreck was not upheld in London, and Hutchins had to inform Fry that he would have to pay the sum back despite the fact that he was saving the Government two hundred pounds a year by acting as honorary chaplain.<sup>38</sup> The best Hutchins could achieve was the postponement of the first instalment of the repayment until September 1841.<sup>39</sup>

Hutchins had many reasons therefore to feel "pelted";<sup>40</sup> a lukewarm Governor, some clergymen insecure

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<sup>35</sup>Hutchins to Lord John Russell 15 July 1840, L.B.No.2.pp.60-62; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 29 April 1840, L.B.No.2, p.66.

<sup>36</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 24 October 1840, L.B.No.2, p.72.

<sup>37</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 21 September 1840, L.B.No.2, p.70; 17 May 1841, L.B.No.2.p.87, Hutchins to Palmer 7 December 1840, L.B.No.2.p.81.

<sup>38</sup>Hutchins to Fry 4 September 1840, L.B.No.2.p.69; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 10 November 1840, L.B.No.2.p.76.

<sup>39</sup>Hutchins to Fry 6 November 1840, L.B.No.2.p.74.

<sup>40</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 7 February 1840.

and discontented, unmet needs in poorer districts, and a resolute opposition from the secular liberals, tested his faith and taxed his strength. The failures were the more frustrating because in some respects Hutchins's efforts were beginning to bear fruit. He had played a notable part in raising nearly fifteen thousand pounds for the building of churches and schools,<sup>41</sup> and was beginning to see a flow of clergymen to the Colony. By 1841 he had twenty three churches with a clergyman for each one and plans for three more churches, including a chapel in the poor district of St. Giles around Harrington Street and Melville Street, Hobart.<sup>42</sup> He had also ensured that each parish church should have at least ten acres of glebe, and was making fair progress in the provision of parsonages. In 1841 it was planned to build a house for the Archdeacon on thirty five acres at New Town.<sup>43</sup> This last development would have pleased Hutchins for in September 1840 he married Rachel Owen, the charming daughter of a Welsh clergyman and sister-in-law of Philip Palmer.<sup>44</sup>

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People were in general anxious for some form of

<sup>41</sup>Hutchins. A Sermon on behalf of the Van Diemen's Land Committee, Op.Cit. p.6; Hutchins to SPG 26 October 1840, U.S.P.G.838/41; Hutchins to Campbell 3 March 1841, 4 March 1841, U.S.P.G.2823/41; Hutchins to Broughton 22 January 1841, U.S.P.G.2824/41.

<sup>42</sup>Blue Book 1841; Hutchins to Broughton 22 January 1841; c.f.G.P.Shaw, Op.Cit. p.39; c.f. also Barrett, Op.Cit. p.43.

<sup>43</sup>Hutchins to Campbell 4 March 1841, U.S.P.G.2823/41.

<sup>44</sup>St. George's Marriage Register, 29 September 1840; Markham, Edward. Diary Op.Cit. passim.

worship as a moral agency and a sign of respectability<sup>45</sup> and they not only supported the church financially; they also attended the services in large numbers.<sup>46</sup> By 1850 there were fifty Anglican clergymen despite the divisions caused by Bishop Nixon's tractarian authoritarianism, and the credit for this great improvement on the position in 1836 was due largely to Hutchins.

After months of battling Hutchins had succeeded in obtaining a second land grant for the long serving clergy thus providing security for their families.<sup>47</sup> Davies of Longford obtained permission to take eighteen months leave and the Archdeacon had been able to replace him temporarily with a Cambridge man, Archdeacon Jeffries from Bombay.<sup>48</sup> The Archdeaconry of Van Diemen's Land was beginning to resemble the ideal which he had brought out from England, and those who came out from England noted the resemblance.<sup>49</sup> There was no strife between High Church and Low Church, and any disputes which took place were political rather than religious; Hutchins's whole energy was put into the evangelical and pastoral

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<sup>45</sup>West, John. The History of Tasmania, Op.Cit.p.208. quoted in Barrett, Op.Cit.p.61; c.f. also Mereweather, Op.Cit.pp.48-57, 64-69; Barrett, Op.Cit.p.65.

<sup>46</sup>Blue Book 1841 gives the size of each congregation.

<sup>47</sup>Hutchins to Colonial Secretary, 13 September 1839; Hutchins to Bedford, Norman, Garrard, Browne, Davies 2 December 1839, 4 January 1840, L.B.No.2.pp.9-12, 26, 27.

<sup>48</sup>Hutchins to Davies 24 December 1839, January 1840; Hutchins to Colonial Secretary 9 January 1840, L.B.No.2.pp.28, 29.

<sup>49</sup>Dixon, John, The Conditions and Capabilities of Van Diemen's Land (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1839) pp.35, 51; Hull, Hugh, M., The Experiences of Forty Years in Tasmania, (London: Orger and Meryon, 1859) pp.35, 36.

work of the church.<sup>50</sup> There were people in England willing and able to support his work financially.<sup>51</sup> He was able to form lending libraries in the major districts to encourage an attachment to the Christian faith and to the Church.<sup>52</sup>

Much however remained to be done and many obstacles opposed themselves to the accomplishment of Hutchins's goals. In every district, for example, there was a regular infusion of fresh masses of vice and irreligion so that a congregation revived in their religion by a diligent pastor stood to be corrupted by the arrival of a new body of convicts grown old in crime.<sup>53</sup> It was necessary for Hutchins to "burn the candle at both ends" in order to combat the frustrations which have been noted in this chapter. What can be said of him, as has been said of others, is that for all the shortness of its life, the candle of his life gave a bright light.

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<sup>50</sup>c.f. Suttor, Op.Cit. p.40.

<sup>51</sup>Hutchins to Campbell 4 March 1841 U.S.P.G.2823/41.

<sup>52</sup>S.P.C.K. Annual Report 1838 p.67.

<sup>53</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report, 1840.p.LI.



## CHAPTER 16

### THE REPOSE OF THE COMMUNITY TO HUTCHINS'S DEATH

On the 3rd June, 1841, Archdeacon Hutchins went to the Queen's School, Macquarie Street, for the annual examination and prizegiving.<sup>1</sup> One of the guests was G.T.W.B. Boyes, the Colonial Auditor, whose diary sheds an interesting, if somewhat jaundiced, light on people and events of this period. Boyes was one who recorded the events of the next few hours. As Hutchins watched the young Headmaster, John Philip Gell, presiding he may have thought nostalgically of his own curacy at Kirk Ireton<sup>2</sup> in Derbysire, two miles from Gell's family home at Hopton Hall.<sup>3</sup> He had served with Gell's uncle at Wirksworth.<sup>4</sup> He had been the one with whom Gell had stayed when he arrived in Hobart in early April 1840 since the Archdeacon had been the only person in Hobart that Gell knew when he landed.<sup>5</sup> The fact that Gell had been to Rugby may have reminded him of his brother, Edward, who was also a student at Rugby before proceeding to his old college, Pembroke, in the University of Cambridge. And now Edward was far away serving the

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<sup>1</sup> Boyes, G.T.W.B., Diary 3 June, 1841. Typescript in A.O.T. Transcribed by J.W. Beattie, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Parish Registers held in the Rectory at Kirk Ireton.

<sup>3</sup> Miscellaneous Gell papers in the muniment room at Hopton Hall.

<sup>4</sup> Parish Registers held in the safe of Wirksworth Parish Church.

<sup>5</sup> Lady Franklin to her sister Mary Simpkinson, 13th June, 1840. Letters RS/16/8/5.

church as a curate in Sibstone, Leicestershire.<sup>6</sup>

This very year his nephew, Henry Hutchins, another Cambridge graduate, would be ordained by the Bishop of Lichfield, and another nephew, Arthur, was just about to go up to Jesus College.<sup>7</sup> Both boys were sons of William's favourite brother, Henry, who had been up at Cambridge with him and had finally retired to Mancetter in Warwickshire.<sup>8</sup>

As he watched the son of the Colonial Treasurer, Dr. Adam Turnbull, receive a Scholarship<sup>9</sup> the Arch-deacon might have thought back to his first Annual Examination and Prizegiving in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>10</sup> Having an ironic sense of humour<sup>11</sup> he would have remembered the boys' names being called and each coming up to a table of books to select the book that pleased him from the number set out on the table, a procedure that led to some confusion. After the prizegiving Hutchins enjoyed the refreshments with the other distinguished guests and was in good spirits.<sup>12</sup> In the evening he went to Government House and spent some time with Sir John Franklin with whom he continued on close personal term despite their differences over Education and

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<sup>6</sup>Venn, J.L., Alumni Cantabrigiensis. Entry: Hutchins, Edward.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. Entries Hutchins, Henry; Hutchins, Arthur.

<sup>8</sup>Henry Hutchins to Sir George Grey, 11 March, 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/10. William Hutchins to Sir George Grey, 7 July, 1836. C.O.280/72/08043/40. Venn, J.L., Alumni Cantabrigiensis.

<sup>9</sup>Boyes, G.T.W.B., Diary Op.Cit. 3 June, 1841.

<sup>10</sup>True Colonist Friday, 23 June, 1837, p.608.

<sup>11</sup>Hobart Town Courier 10 November, 1837. Letter from "Thesis".

<sup>12</sup>Boyes, Loc.Cit.

Religion; he was unusually cheerful, according to the account of the Reverend W.L. Gibbon, an Anglican clergyman based in Launceston.<sup>13</sup>

It is clear from the comments of Boyes and Gibbon that the Archdeacon had not been well, perhaps fatigued with the great burden of work and visitation he laid upon himself. Two weeks before this he had returned from a two month visitation of the Island<sup>14</sup> during which period he had gone to nearly every station, made arrangements where necessary for the churches that were in process of erection, and had tried to clarify the pecuniary difficulties under which some of his clergy were labouring. He had also ministered to the sick. Despite this fatigue he left Government House after dinner between nine and ten in "most perfect health and spirits".<sup>15</sup> On the morning of the 4th of June he arose about six and remarked to his wife of nine months, Rachel, - "the sun is rising beautifully, we shall have a fine day."<sup>16</sup> She asked him how he was and he replied that he was quite well.<sup>17</sup> He sat down to dress and

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<sup>13</sup>Rev.W.L.Gibbon to Rev.A.M.Campbell, U.S.P.G. papers 4934/41.

<sup>14</sup>Sir John Franklin Journal Entries for 17 March, 1841 and 17 May, 1841, in Franklin Papers on microfilm, Folder 1, A.O.T.

<sup>15</sup>Bishop Broughton to the Bishop of London, 23 June, 1841. Nat.Lib.Aust. Microfilm of Broughton Papers held by U.S.P.G.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Rev.W.L.Gibbon to Rev.A.M.Campbell, U.S.P.G. 4934/41.

about half past six his servant heard a violent ringing of the bell, and going into his bedroom found him stretched out with his face upon the floor. The servant raised him up on the bed, when he uttered a groan or two and almost instantly expired.<sup>18</sup> He was partly dressed and was thought to be in a stooping position when he was struck with a "sudden fit of apoplexy".<sup>19</sup>

The Archdeacon's death had a profound effect upon the whole country.<sup>20</sup> The loss of this "good and valuable man" saddened everyone.<sup>21</sup> His "habitual kindness, sound judgement and unaffected piety" had caused everyone to like him. The clergy felt it a privilege to serve under him.<sup>22</sup> The colonial auditor wrote that he was a "liberal, kindhearted man and his zeal in the cause of religion was only equalled by his sincerity".<sup>23</sup> Bishop Broughton in describing his personal loss found words hard to come by.<sup>24</sup> Hutchins was a man who was "fervently yet unostentatiously devout". He wrote emotionally of a friendship over thirty years, of an associate with whom he could co-operate with entire freedom and satisfaction, and he reminded the Bishop of

<sup>18</sup> Boyes, G.T.W.B. Diary Op.Cit. 4 June 1841. R.S.2/52/1-13

<sup>19</sup> Hobart Town Courier 4 June 1841.

<sup>20</sup> Rev.W.L.Gibbon to Rev.A.M.Campbell, U.S.P.G.4934/41.

<sup>21</sup> Boyes, G.T.W.B. Diary 4 June 1841, comments that an official dinner at Government House was cancelled when the news of the Archdeacon's death was conveyed to the Governor.

<sup>22</sup> Gibbon to Campbell. U.S.P.G.4934/41.

<sup>23</sup> Boyes. Diary Op.Cit. 4 June 1841. R.S. papers.

<sup>24</sup> Broughton to the Bishop of London. 23 June 1841. N.L. Microfilm.

London that he had suggested Hutchins as the first Bishop of the Diocese of Tasmania for which Broughton had been asking. If indeed the first Bishop of Tasmania had been an Evangelical with a profound respect for the historic established church and a willingness to co-operate with the Government wherever possible, instead of a Tractarian with a deep sense of his own authority and a fear of Erastianism, the history of the Church of England in Tasmania might have been very different. How his premature death affected the course of events in the ensuing decade is a question which this study seeks to answer.

On the 26th of June, 1841, Broughton wrote a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel<sup>25</sup> in which he describes Hutchins as a man "prominently in the view and so high in the affectionate estimation" of the church people in Tasmania. The senior chaplain, William Bedford, who had not always been a well behaved and obedient clergyman was equally devastated by the Archdeacon's sudden death. He saw the loss to the Church as very great indeed, for Hutchins had initiated many activities for the advancement of true religion and godliness, and what he with his gifts had begun it would be very difficult for others to complete. Bishop Nixon was to discover the prophetic truth of that judgement. The respect and love universally felt for the

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<sup>25</sup>Broughton to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Director of S.P.G. 26 June, 1841. N.L.

Archdeacon was so great that his death had "cast a gloom over everything".<sup>26</sup> The combined meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge at which Hutchins had intended to report on his recent tour and on his future plans was postponed.<sup>27</sup> Clergy set out from all over the Island to attend the funeral on the 8th June in St. David's, and as John Loch, the secretary of the Memorial Committee, reported to the S.P.G., nearly all of them were present.<sup>28</sup>

One of those clergy, Gregory Bateman of Oatlands, had only been a year in Van Diemen's Land and he felt bereft of a "guide, a counsellor and friend".<sup>29</sup> He found in the Archdeacon a man who could help a young parish priest "discreetly, kindly and yet firmly". He had of course been at Oatlands during the course of his last visitation, and had probably discussed the growth of the church in all the places where services were needed. Hutchins, said Bateman, had managed to use the provisions of the Church Act which seemed at first to weaken the position of the Church of England for the eventual benefit of that Church, and his building efforts were indefatigable.<sup>30</sup> He had had the

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<sup>26</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1842. p.xlix.

<sup>27</sup>Report of Standing Committee of S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. A.O.T. NP 65/9/4.

<sup>28</sup>John Loch to Rev.A.M.Campbell, 9 October, 1841. U.S.P.G.111/42.

<sup>29</sup>Rev.Gregory Bateman to S.P.G. 2 May 1842, U.S.P.G.4261/42.

<sup>30</sup>S.P.C.K. Annual Report 1842. p.62.



satisfaction of seeing the "Standard of our Church"<sup>31</sup> planted in most of the places where it was wanted.

The Governor was equally appreciative of Hutchins's work and worth. He considered that the young Church in Van Diemen's Land had benefited markedly from "his able hand, his genuine moderation, and his truly Christian piety".<sup>32</sup> He saw him as moving rapidly towards his "holy object" of consolidating the interests of religion. The passivity and selfcentredness that had marred the witness of the clergy in the early days had been replaced by a "healthy vigour" through Hutchins's calm and untiring exertions.<sup>33</sup> Such a comment from Sir John Franklin could only mean that the Archdeacon was well on the way to providing the Church of England in Tasmania with a parochial ministry regarding itself responsible for the spiritual and moral welfare of all the inhabitants within the parish boundaries. And this he was managing to do while at the same time reconciling differences, smoothing away asperities, and beautifying the institution which was to be the servant of the people.<sup>34</sup>

Lady Franklin too spoke on more than one occasion of the great loss sustained by the death of our "excellent Archdeacon".<sup>35</sup> No doubt she recalled the times

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<sup>31</sup>Bateman, Op.Cit.

<sup>32</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1842, p.xlix.

<sup>33</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1842. p.1.

<sup>34</sup>S.P.G. Annual Report 1842. p.xlix.

<sup>35</sup>Lady Jane Franklin to her father 12 October 1841.  
R.S.16/7/1/20.

when he had called on her,<sup>36</sup> or when she had called on him<sup>37</sup> hoping to lessen the dispute between Hutchins and Sir John. The S.P.C.K. report of 1842 mourned a "truly exemplary man"<sup>38</sup> whose loss seemed to have been deeply felt in the colony. It referred to his kindness of manner, his zeal in the service of God, his adherence to the Church, and his faithful ministry. It spoke of his friends in England and concluded that he dealt successfully with the trying and difficult situations that he had to face in Van Diemen's Land. There was sorrow at his death "from the highest to the humblest classes".<sup>39</sup> The Colonial Times, which was a consistent opponent of Hutchins and of the Anglican Church, concedes that he was a "good man" and that everyone would admit that he was.<sup>40</sup> No one would deny that his loss was to be lamented. This was high praise from such an antagonist.

The Hobart Town Courier, not always friendly to the Archdeacon's views, had a long obituary whose terms cannot be ignored in such an age of controversy and spleen; even allowing for the fulsomeness of the funeral oration style there are assertions that should be taken seriously.<sup>41</sup> He is described as upright, faithful, and conscientious, and a warm supporter of the best interests of the colony.

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<sup>36</sup>Lady Franklin's Journal 26 December 1839 A.O.T. Franklin Papers. Folder 2, also 16 October 1839, 9 December 1839.

<sup>37</sup>Lady Franklin's Journal 29 November 1839. Loc.cit.

<sup>38</sup>S.P.C.K. Report. 1842. p.61.

<sup>39</sup>S.P.C.K. Report. 1842. p.62.

<sup>40</sup>Colonial Times 15 June, 1841.

<sup>41</sup>Hobart Town Courier 4 June 1841.

He was a man of vision though modest and unassuming. His cheerfulness and happy temperament made him beloved in every society in which he moved. He had pursued a steady course for the benefit of the Church of England of which he was a firm adherent. He had organised it and united it and with a judicious mixture of firmness and temperance he had disciplined the Church so that it was able to withstand the attacks made by some upon it.<sup>42</sup> He had retained his capacity for serious study and profound thought, yet he was a humble man and did not court applause.<sup>43</sup> He suffered much from abuse, taunts and violent language but he behaved as a Christian gentleman showing meekness, forbearance and charity.

Even the Cornwall Chronicle did "exceedingly regret having to announce" his sudden death<sup>44</sup> and the Austral Asiatic Review describes him as "an ornament to his sacred order"<sup>45</sup> and speaks of his amiable disposition paying him the rich compliment of calling him an "excellent man" who stuck to his last and did not meddle with temporal matters in the Legislative Council even though he was a member of it.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, even allowing for the convention that obituary notices do not speak ill of the dead it seems clear that the whole community, whether they

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 8 June, 1841.

<sup>44</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 5 June, 1841.

<sup>45</sup>The Austral Asiatic Review, 8 June 1841.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

agreed with the principles and policies of Hutchins or not, regarded him as a remarkable person, "as good a man as ever breathed."<sup>47</sup>

Sir John Franklin was so moved that he made a special journey to Launceston to speak at the Northern Branch meeting of the Societies.<sup>48</sup> He spoke of the "great loss" which he and the Church had sustained and went into a "long and feeling dissertation" upon his virtues and private worth. On the motion of the Reverend Dr. Browne and L.W. Gilles, Esq., a resolution was passed deploring this loss and Dr. Browne, who had not supported Hutchins in all his views and had occasionally been reprimanded by him, yet spoke at length of their intimate friendship. In Browne's laconic journal he records how he received the "distressing account of our beloved Archdeacon's sudden death", and adds the comment "how great a loss to society and our Church."<sup>49</sup> The Revd. Mr. Gibbon hoped that they would be able to follow his example in the dissemination of Evangelical truth and significantly he saw the death of Hutchins as producing a "momentous crisis".<sup>50</sup>

The funeral took place in St. David's Church which was draped in black crepe, on the afternoon of the 8th of

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<sup>47</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch, 11 June 1841.

<sup>48</sup>This was the combined committee of the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. whose meeting is fully reported in the Cornwall Chronicle, 19 June, 1841.

<sup>49</sup>Browne, W.H., Journal, June 5, 1841. Launceston Library Archives.

<sup>50</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 19 June, 1841.

June.<sup>51</sup> It was attended by an immense number of people<sup>52</sup> including the Lieutenant Governor and his Secretary, members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, all the civil officials, officers of Her Majesty's ships, troops in garrison, gentlemen, and the clergy in their canonicals, many having travelled a great distance.<sup>53</sup> The Senior Chaplain who conducted the service was visibly affected at the beginning of the service but preached what is described as "an excellent sermon".<sup>54</sup> The Revd. Mr. Bedford was not renowned for his sermons.<sup>55</sup> However, on this solemn occasion he seems to have been inspired, as he was also on the following Sunday when he preached again about the Archdeacon to a full church.<sup>56</sup> The large numbers of mourners who followed the Archdeacon to "his long home" indicated the respect in which he was held.<sup>57</sup> Considering the bitter disputes which had raged around him, it was remarkable that he attracted such affection. On the evening of his funeral the Revd. Mr. Miller of the Independent Connexion preached an

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<sup>51</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 8 June, 1841; Hudspeth, Wilfrid, "Centenary of the Hutchins School". Article in Hutchins School Archives.

<sup>52</sup> Revd. Gregory Bateman to S.P.G., 2 May, 1842. Op.Cit.

<sup>53</sup> Boyes, G.T.W.B., Diary, 8 June, 1841. R.S. Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch, 11 June, 1841. Revd. Gregory Bateman to S.P.G., 2 May, 1842.

<sup>54</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 8 June, 1841.

<sup>55</sup>c.f. Crooke, Robert, "The Convict" quoted by Kathleen Fitzpatrick in Sir John Franklin in Tasmania Op.Cit. p.80.

<sup>56</sup>Austral Asiatic Review, 15 June 1841.

<sup>57</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 8 June, 1841. c.f. also Browne Journal Op.Cit. 8 June, 1841.

"elegant address" on the text "Son, Go and work today in my Vineyard" which was listened to with profound attention and seemed to move many of the congregation.<sup>58</sup>

In both his sermons Bedford dwelt on the suddenness of Hutchins's death and the feeling of fear and uncertainty which his death had evoked. In all that was said about him and about his passing the mood was the same. Under his leadership the Church had been moving in a definite direction full of hope and purpose, fulfilling a central role in the life of the Island community. Without him there was a feeling of irreplaceable loss, a sense of crisis, a suggestion of troubled times ahead with renewed dispute and division and a diminished role for the Church of England.<sup>59</sup>

The Lieutenant Governor sensed the need to replace him as quickly as possible and voiced his concern about finding a suitable successor on 14th of June.<sup>60</sup> As early as the 9th June Sir John Franklin had reported to the Colonial Office that he had appointed the Reverend Philip Palmer to carry out the functions of the Archdeacon until Her Majesty's pleasure should be known.<sup>61</sup> He undoubtedly saw the need to head off quickly any divisions that might arise within the Church and in any event there

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<sup>58</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser 8 June 1841.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Cornwall Chronicle, 19 June 1841.

<sup>61</sup>Franklin to Sir George Grey. 9 June 1841.  
C.O.280/72/08043.



was an official vacancy on the Legislative Council and in the Executive Council which it was desirable to fill. The speed of the appointment suggests that Franklin may have hoped that the impetus given by Hutchins to the Church of England might be maintained if disputes and quarrels could be avoided. The events of the next few weeks confirm this impression. Clergy and Laity were bound together in the common cause of providing a suitable and worthy memorial.<sup>62</sup> The inspiration of his life and the "awesome visitation" of his death gave rise to a new zeal and devotion and a determination to carry on his work.

Palmer was not a suitable choice. Nixon later found him to be "utterly unfit for any post of trust or efficiency".<sup>63</sup> He lacked energy, had no voice, was an invalid, and, as Bedford had found, was not thoroughly committed to the Church of England. According to Edward Markham, who travelled out with him, Palmer compared unfavourably with the Reverend Mr. Stiles another clergyman on board. Palmer was more concerned with food and drink than with spiritual matters. "He was constantly ill from gluttony".<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>v.d. Printed Paper in Hutchins School Archives "Memorial to the Late Venerable Archdeacon Hutchins". Minute Book of meetings relating to the project. Letter Book relating to the project.

<sup>63</sup>Batt, Neil and Roe, Michael "Conflict within the Church of England in Tasmania 1850-1858" in the Journal of Religious History, Vol.4, p.41.

<sup>64</sup>Markham, Edward, Van Diemen's Land Journal 1833, 1834. ed.K.R. Von Stieglitz, Launceston Telegraph 1952.

Poor Palmer could not even organise a meeting of the Bible Society with any measure of success,<sup>65</sup> and he had not come out very well in the long wrangle with Bedford.<sup>66</sup> Yet he had been sent out to Van Diemen's Land to occupy a position of leadership and had been Rural Dean up to 1837; and after the arrival of Bishop Nixon and Archdeacon Marriott he was to be Inspector of Schools.<sup>67</sup> He was the obvious choice, and he was appointed almost at once by Letters Patent to "act as" Archdeacon and Commissary of the Island; and an Act of Council was passed legalising the appointment. It appeared that the Royal Letters Patent empowered the Governor to appoint a person to perform the duties of Archdeacon but did not enable him to nominate one.<sup>68</sup> William Broughton as Bishop of Australia reacted strongly and questioned the propriety of these measures which had been undertaken without any reference to him. He doubted whether a layman could appoint anyone to perform the duties of an archdeacon according to law;<sup>69</sup> and the press considered the verbal distinction in the Gazette "the very essence of

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<sup>65</sup>Hobart Town Courier 31 March 1837.

<sup>66</sup>Arthur Papers Vol.12. Broughton to Arthur, 13 October 1834. Microfilm, Tasmanian University. c.f. also True Colonist 15 July 1836, 5 August 1836.

<sup>67</sup>Bowden, Frank, and Crawford, Max, The Story of Trinity (Hobart Mercury Press, 1933), also Hart, P.R., "Palmer" in A.D.B. Vol.2. pp.311, 312.

<sup>68</sup>Austral Asiatic Review 15 June 1841.

<sup>69</sup>Broughton to Joshua Watson, 27 November 1841, quoted by Whittington, F.T., William Grant Broughton (Melbourne: Angus and Robertson, 1936) p.140.

ultra niceties."<sup>70</sup>

However, even if there was doubt about the propriety of Sir John Franklin's action in replacing Hutchins so soon, his action showed two things. He was anxious that there should be no hiatus, and he was prepared to act in a way that gave the Church of England the appearance of a national church. It is at least arguable that Hutchins had brought the Church to a position of leadership and responsibility in Van Diemen's Land which Franklin wanted to maintain. By repeating for Palmer what William IV had done for Hutchins in issuing Letters Patent he conceded the fact that the Church of England had a privileged status.<sup>71</sup>

Palmer in accepting the Governor's commission made it clear that the authority derived from the Letters Patent given by William IV to Archdeacon Hutchins, whose appointment had followed upon the recommendation of Bishop Broughton. A similar situation in the Catholic or Presbyterian churches would have resulted in an appointment being made by the appropriate authorities in those churches. By his action Franklin had clearly indicated that the head of the Church of England in Tasmania had a special role vis à vis the State, and the Bishop might

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<sup>70</sup>Austral Asiatic Review 15 June 1841.

<sup>71</sup>c.f. Letters Patent for the Appointment of a Commissary in the Archdeaconry of V.D.L. 5 June 1841. A.O.T. N.S.373/244/4. Palmer in informing the clergy drew upon Hutchins's Letters Patent as his validation, 7 June 1841, N.S.373/244/5. A.O.T.

have made much of this recognition if he had not been so sensitive about his authority and independence.

It is ironic that Broughton should oppose this move and not apparently see its significance. In what the Bishop describes as a conciliatory gesture he issued two commissions regularly made out under his own seal nominating Palmer to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in his stead and to be his commissary.<sup>72</sup> When his commissions were returned by Franklin as unnecessary he was offended and complained to England. His refusal to recognise Palmer did not help that gentleman's somewhat tenuous position. It was typical of what G.P. Shaw calls Broughton's "citadel" approach.<sup>73</sup>

Both Broughton and Hutchins had experienced Government interference in what they considered to be ecclesiastical matters.<sup>74</sup> Broughton responded by seeking to strengthen his Church against the State.<sup>75</sup> Hutchins reacted by trying to resolve the issue at hand and trying to keep Church and State working in partner-

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<sup>72</sup>Broughton to Joshua Watson 27 November 1841, quoted in F.T. Whittington. Op.Cit.

<sup>73</sup>Shaw, G.P. William Grant Broughton and his Early Years in New South Wales. Thesis for degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the A.N.U. 1970.

<sup>74</sup>Border, Ross. Church and State in Australia (S.P.C.K. London 1962) quotes Broughton to Glenelg 12 December 1837.

<sup>75</sup>Arthur papers Vol.12. Broughton to Arthur, 13 October 1834, 27 July 1835.

ship.<sup>76</sup> He realised that both the Colony and the Church were young and had much to learn. As a curate in Derbyshire he had learnt from his Archdeacon there the value of a "National Church" which had a responsibility to every citizen, especially to the rising generation whose minds should early be turned to a "genuine and practical religion".<sup>77</sup> He was not prepared to retreat into a citadel, and to regard the Anglican Church as just another denomination.<sup>78</sup> His aim was to reproduce in Van Diemen's Land the parochial system which he knew and loved in England<sup>79</sup> suitably adapted to colonial conditions.<sup>80</sup>

Hutchins worked in Australia during a period which has been analysed in terms of a quest for authority and the development of moral enlightenment; the period has also been seen as leading to the ascendancy of secular liberalism.<sup>81</sup> He had no doubt concerning the source of authority and the basis of morality, and he was prepared to contend for his view. He stressed the "danger of neglecting Christian instruction in our endeavours to impart a liberal education." It was not to the all-

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<sup>76</sup>Letter, Bateman to S.P.G., 2 May 1842., U.S.P.G.426<sup>1</sup>/42

<sup>77</sup>Butler, Samuel, Archdeacon's charge of 1825 quoted in Austin, M.R., "The Church in Derbyshire". Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series: 1974 Vol.5, p.16.

<sup>78</sup>Hobart Town Courier, 4 June 1841.

<sup>79</sup>Hutchins, Wm. Letter to the Revd. John Lillie Op.Cit.

<sup>80</sup>Bateman to S.P.G. 2 May 1842. Op.Cit.

<sup>81</sup>c.f. Roe, Michael, Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia (Melbourne: M.U.P., and A.N.U., 1965). Suttor, T.L. Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia 1788-1870. (Melbourne: M.U.P., 1965)



pervading influence of literature and science that people must look for the regeneration of a fallen world, but to "Christian truth set home to the heart by the ever-blessed Spirit."<sup>82</sup> When he died a strong voice was silenced, and Gibbon might well speak of a moment of crisis. The crowds who paid Hutchins homage were a testimony to his influence and an indication of what he might have achieved with another ten or fifteen years of life and service.<sup>83</sup>

Immediately after the funeral about forty of his friends,<sup>84</sup> including nearly all the clergy of the Island,<sup>85</sup> met in the schoolroom of the Hobart Town Grammar School in Harrington Street, a Church School that Bishop Broughton had referred to in 1838 in a letter to his wife as Hutchins's School,<sup>86</sup> a school for which the Harrington Street premises had just been built at the instance of the Archdeacon.<sup>87</sup> The Reverend W. Bedford and F.H. Henslowe, the Governor's secretary, moved that "some public memorial is due"<sup>88</sup> and it was quickly determined that a school should be erected to be called "The Archdeacon Hutchins School".

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<sup>82</sup>Hutchins, Wm. A Letter on the School Question. Op.Cit. pp. 8, 9.

<sup>83</sup>Article in "Gospel Missionary" January 1854 reprinted in the Hutchins School Magazine June 1917.

<sup>84</sup>Loch, John D. to Bishop Broughton 30 June 1841. Letter Book of Hutchins School. H.S.A.

<sup>85</sup>Loch, John D. to Rev. A.M. Campbell, 9 October 1841. U.S.P.G. papers 111/42.

<sup>86</sup>Whittington, F.T. Op.Cit. p. 97.

<sup>87</sup>Minutes of the meeting 8 June 1841 in Minute Book of the Hutchins School, p.1.

<sup>88</sup>Minutes of the Meeting of 8 June 1841 in Minute Book of the Hutchins School, p.1.



At the table nearly £150 was contributed and a strong committee was formed. A second meeting was held on the 10th of June at which it was determined that the School should be under the sole management of the Ecclesiastical Head of the Church of England, and this was said to be the "most appropriate" way of paying tribute to the Archdeacon. In a few weeks nearly £800 had been raised. Five years later the School opened on the 3rd August, 1846.

The esteem in which William Hutchins was held by the whole community is extraordinary when the controversy which surrounded him is taken into consideration. It is fair to conclude that his character and his achievements outweighed his failures.

## CHAPTER 17

### CONCLUSION

Australian religions history has been written largely as if it were the story of denominational interests struggling for the support of a minority of Australians while the majority went ahead with the construction of a secular utopia provoked and stimulated by the reactionary authoritarianism of the Anglican Church.<sup>1</sup> The life of Hutchins raises two issues which may not have received sufficient attention. For a brief period in Van Diemen's Land, the Church of England was led by an Evangelical of the Simeon mould who believed in a National Church and was not swayed by the anti-erastianism of the Tractarians nor wedded to the notion of a powerful hierarchy; who regarded the Church of England as the best hope of bringing together the extremes of Protestantism and Catholicism; and who saw most clearly the importance of a National Church education. Such a man, had he lived longer, would surely have made a difference in the life of the colony, and may still influence ideas concerning the role of the Church of England in the Ecumenical movement. Secondly, Hutchins was not concerned only with the numbers of adherents in each sect, a matter which has obsessed historians. He was concerned that every person in the colony should be kept within a

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. Auchmuty Op.Cit. p.57; Barrett, Op.Cit. pp.40,118, 119,206 et passim; Clark, Op.Cit. pp.246,247,298; Roe, Op.Cit. Chs.1,2; Suttor, Op.Cit. 35,39,118 et passim.

"nominal" Christianity by the permanent pastorate of a National Church, for only if society retained its Christian principles and categories of thought would people have a real chance of achieving a dedicated allegiance, and children especially have a genuine opportunity of making an autonomous decision to be Christian. In Hutchins's view it was quite tolerable that individuals should hold opinions contrary to his own, provided all were held together by the nominal Christianity which dictated and upheld their social values and gave them a cultural unity. In such a society secularism would represent just one viewpoint and would not become a dominant influence. Hutchins failed to achieve all he hoped for not because of the astuteness or rightness or strength of the secularists but because some Protestants did not foresee the dangers of which he spoke.

Hutchins saw that the further people departed from the Christian faith the more impoverished morally many would become, not appreciating the Biblical source of the ethical precepts they were attempting to appropriate. Professor Roe has argued that the absorption of Protestants with social ethics led to strong links being forged between Protestantism and "Moral Enlightenment" and that Australians in general came to reject the former and accept the latter.<sup>2</sup> The apostles of enlightenment, however, derived their morality from Christianity and were at some time or other in their lives closely associated with the Christian

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<sup>2</sup>Roe, Op.Cit., Chapters 7, 8, 9 esp. pp. 143, 149.

Church; they were readily able to draw on Christian "capital" to fund their store of morality.<sup>3</sup> Hutchins foretold what would happen when the "capital" ran out.

The argument of this paper has been that Hutchins made a significant contribution to the religion and life of Van Diemen's Land and might have done much more had he lived to become its first Bishop. Some have said that Anglican clergy made little impression on a population which contained so many ex-convicts and that the chaplains were unfit for their high calling. Ministers have been accused of hypocrisy and cant, of being prayer-mumbling, sanctimonious swine, terrified and useless. The clergy of Van Diemen's Land were said to be of low standard, mere men of the world, fond of creature comforts and not over inclined to pay their debts.<sup>4</sup> Yet it would seem that many clergymen were in fact zealous visitors of their flock and were well received.<sup>5</sup> Knopwood, Browne, Davies, Norman,

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<sup>3</sup>Charles Harpur was the son of a Parish Clerk and a member of the Wesleyan Auxiliary Missionary Society; he was a close friend of the Revd. John Saunders. c.f. Homington-Rawling, J. Charles Harpur, An Australian (Melbourne: Angus and Robertson, 1962) pp.11, 65, 66. Frederick Maitland Innes was a lay preacher in the Church of Scotland; Henry Carmichael was a licentiate of the same Church; James Bonwick was a Baptist; John Woolley and William Branwhite Clarke were Anglican clergymen; Robert Lowe and Edward Maitland were the sons of clergymen; Barzillai Quaife was a Congregationalist; W.A.Duncan and T.C. Anstey were converts to Roman Catholicism. Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol.IV. p.458; Vol.I p.210; Vol.III, p.190; Vol.VI, p.435; Vol.III, p.420; Vol.II, p.134; Vol.V, p.201.

<sup>4</sup>Crooke, Op.Cit., pp.32,33; c.f. Kiddle, Op.Cit. p.110; Best, Op.Cit.p.171; Rashleigh, Op.Cit., p.59,82.

<sup>5</sup>West, Op.Cit., p.72; Mereweather, Op.Cit.,p.54; Crooke, Op.Cit., p.22; Browne, Op.Cit. Passim; Knopwood, Op.Cit. Passim.

Garrard, Aislabie and Hutchins himself were conscientious pastors and respected in the community; they managed to overcome the enormous difficulties confronting a minister in a penal settlement.<sup>6</sup> There was in the middle of the nineteenth century in Australia a level of religious activity quite unlike anything known in the second half of the twentieth; it may have been habitual and at times insincere, but it was part of the social fabric and influenced the categories of people's thinking. Harpur, the apostle of Moral Enlightenment, wrote poems and letters full of religious and biblical imagery.<sup>7</sup> Wakefield regarded provision for religion as an essential, not merely a desirable, part of his colonization programme.

In Van Diemen's Land the twenty three congregations of 1841, the year of Hutchins's death, each numbered from two hundred and fifty nine to four hundred and twenty two; nearly one quarter of the population went regularly to church.<sup>8</sup> Those who then wrote about Van Diemen's Land noticed the churches and private chapels in every county of the colony, the dominance of the English Church, and the serious approach of the colonists to

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<sup>6</sup>c.f. Inglis, Op.Cit. p.84; Yarwood, Op.Cit. p.206; Broughton to Hawkins, 30 Jan.1846. U.S.P.G.; Quaife, Geoffrey R., "Money and Men : Aspects of the Anglican Crisis in Victoria 1850-1865" in Journal of Religious History Vol.5, No.1, June 1968. p.53.

<sup>7</sup>Harpur, Charles, Op.Cit. pp.66, 73, 75, 110, 128, 133, 235, 236; Normington-Rawling, J. Op.Cit. pp.127, 128.

<sup>8</sup>Tasmanian Blue Book 1841; c.f. Burton, Op.Cit. pp.117, 119, 121; Mol, Hans, Religion in Australia (London: Nelson, 1971) p.10.

religion.<sup>9</sup> The custom of church attendance was recognised even when not heartily approved, and in Van Diemen's Land appreciation of the Church's ministrations was surprisingly high.<sup>10</sup> In Hobart more attention was paid to religion, and Sunday was better observed than visitors expected.<sup>11</sup>

It was not uncommon to have daily prayers in the home or in family and friendship groups with the expectation that prayer would make a difference in one's life. If for some reason it was not possible to go to church, the service would be said at home and a sermon too might be read for the benefit of family and servants. Such religious observance was as much a part of living then as watching the television is now. It is not possible to believe that this habitual turning to religion had no effect on the morals and actions of the people.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Hull, Hugh M., The Experience of Forty Years in Tasmania (London: Orger and Meryon, 1859) pp. 35, 36; Dixon, John The Condition and Capabilities of Van Diemen's Land (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1839) pp. 35, 51. Kentish, N.L., Work in the Bush, Thought in the Bush, and Life in the Bush of Van Diemen's Land (Hobart: Rolwegan, 1846) p. 44; Bischoff, J., Op.Cit. p. 64.

<sup>10</sup>Mereweather, Op.Cit. pp. 49, 65 and passim; Meredith, Mrs. Charles, Nine Years in Tasmania (London: Murray 1852) p. 187; c.f. also Best, Op.Cit. passim.; Rashleigh, Op.Cit. passim; West, Op.Cit. p. 72.

<sup>11</sup>Strickland, Rev. E., (Ed.) The Record of Henry Elliott: The Australian Pastor (London: Wertheim, McIntosh, Hunt 1862) p. 36.

<sup>12</sup>c.f. Ibid. p. 27; Elliston, W.G., Diary E5/1/2 Tasmanian University 18 August 1833, 28 April 1833, 5 May 1833, 12 May 1833, 25 May 1834, 8 February 1835 and passim; George Martin to his wife 29 October 1836 R.S. 134; Archer, William Diary 19 Octbr. 1851, 4 January, 8 May 1852, University Department of History Reports on Historical Manuscripts of Tasmania, Series II No. 4; John Leake to Eardley Wilmot 31 September 1846, Loc.Cit. Series II, No. 3; Kiddle, Op.Cit. pp. 15, 92, 93, 112, 113, 299.



Of course the vastness of Australia and isolation in the bush led to the breaking of sabbath customs, and the anonymity and waywardness of the towns disturbed the habits of many brought up in small English rural communities; the taint of convictism also weighed heavily upon society as a whole.<sup>13</sup> The practice grew up of judging the truth of a parson's creed by the manliness of his character so that the cult of personality, evolved through the process of individualization, began to erode man's belief in the primacy of God and in His ability to work through weak human vessels. Nevertheless until the tide of secularism and liberalism ran full, the churches retained the nominal adherence of the whole population.<sup>14</sup> Barrett has argued<sup>15</sup> that if the Church of Hutchins's time had been more liberal it might have done better. Hutchins might well reply that the Church would have done better if the Government of the time had been less "liberal" in its attitude to the sects and the secularists. Australian individualism which led to a peculiar concept of manhood led also to an ambivalent attitude toward the liturgy of church services. One

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<sup>13</sup>c.f. Inglis, K.S. The Australian colonists, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1974) pp. 77, 79, 82.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid. p. 84; Bollen, Op.Cit. p. 42; Hassall, James S., In Old Australia, Records and Reminiscences from 1794, (Brisbane R.S. Hews and Co. 1902). Reprinted facsimile by the Library of Australian History 1977. pp. 87, 88; Davies, A.F., and Encel, S., Australian Society, A Sociological Introduction (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1965) p. 50.

<sup>15</sup>Barrett, Op.Cit. p. 206.

factor in the popularity of services was their Englishness (or Scottishness). Of all the available social activities hearing Divine Service was the most telling in reminding people of home; nostalgia for England was probably as much part of the worship feelings as awe of God. Perhaps this may help to explain why, in the passage of time, the earthiness and materialism of the Australian pioneer has not matched well the mystical and exotic ritual of the Church.

Hutchins left a mark on the religion and life of Van Diemen's Land. Another question is whether he and his Church had any significant impact on the education of the Colony. He failed to save all the public schools for the Church, partly because the home Government was Whig, partly because he did not exercise the political clout which his Presbyterian opponents used so effectively despite the fact that most of the leading figures in the Colonial Government were Anglican. If the Conservatives had come earlier to power in Westminster and Hutchins had survived to be a bishop, things might have been different. State control of education was never popular in England and the Act of 1870 began only a slow move toward universal, compulsory, free education. Secular education has never had strong support in England; it came to Australia more by default than by policy, bearing in mind that English administrators played only an accidental

role in Colonial events.<sup>16</sup>

Hutchins, as we have seen, believed that education was the prerogative of the Church and that any intervention by the State was an infringement that was dangerous. He agreed with his mentors and colleagues that if education fell into the hands of the Government, there would be a constant temptation to make it a political engine. He warned people against the one sided attention that under such a system would be paid to intellectual enlightenment, which unless accompanied by religious training becomes a curse and not a blessing.<sup>17</sup> He ran the Government schools efficiently and the Board of Education made very few changes when it took over the management for a short period. In 1849 the Anglican schools which Franklin's policy had forced into existence were inspected by Arthur Davenport who supplied to Bishop Nixon a comprehensive report which indicated how far the church was still penetrating into society.<sup>18</sup> Bible, prayer, and the catechism were part of the daily programme in the forty schools inspected, most of which received a satisfactory report. Many of the children

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<sup>16</sup>c.f. Morell, W.P., Review of Eris O'Brien, The Foundation of Australia; a Study in English Criminal Practice and Penal Colonization in the 18th Century (London, Sheed and Ward, 1937) in History Vol. XXII No. 88, March 1938, p. 371.

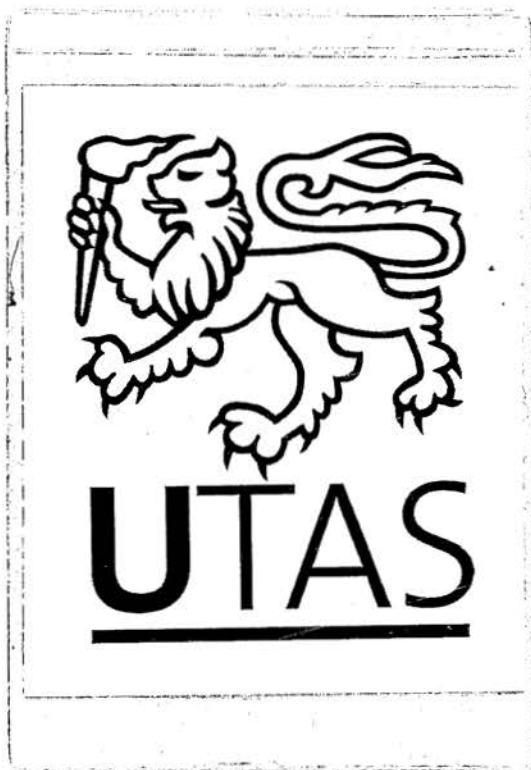
<sup>17</sup>c.f. Wiese, L. Dr. German Letters on English Education translated by W.D. Arnold in 1854 and quoted by F.A. Cavanagh. State Intervention in English Education. Art. in History Vol. XXV, No. 98 September 1940, p. 143, 144.

<sup>18</sup>Davenport, Arthur. Report upon Parochial Schools within the Archdeaconry of Hobart Town, January 1851. A.O.T. N.S. 373/244.

attended church on Sunday and knew something of Christian doctrine; most were clean and well behaved. Each school received a regular visit from the superintending clergyman. For all this Hutchins would have been pleased, and the relative success of the schools was a justification of his uncompromising stand against Franklin's eclectic educational policy. Hutchins could take credit for the provision of many churches, but more importantly he tried to clarify and promote the true role of the Church in society, which he saw not as giving leadership in change, progress and growth, but rather as preserving eternal values at a time when the pace and process of development threatened those values. He had little success in maintaining a special relationship between the Anglican Church and the State or in securing for the Church of England a major role in education, but he did ensure the establishment in Van Diemen's Land of a parochial ministry. The impact of the local church on the community through the Sunday services and schools, through the visitations of the incumbent, and not least in the administration of the rites of passage, is hard to evaluate but it must have been considerable and remains significant still in a modern secular society.

For a hundred and fifty years Australians have drifted, like happy wanderers, down a broad track marked successively Individualism, Pluralism, and Multiculturalism. The end of that track is now in view and in the distance lies a hopeless desert of division and insoluble

difficulties. What is needed now may be found in Hutchins's teachings and warnings made at the start of that journey toward the wilderness: corporateness, national identity, and a unifying culture firmly based on a shared value system.



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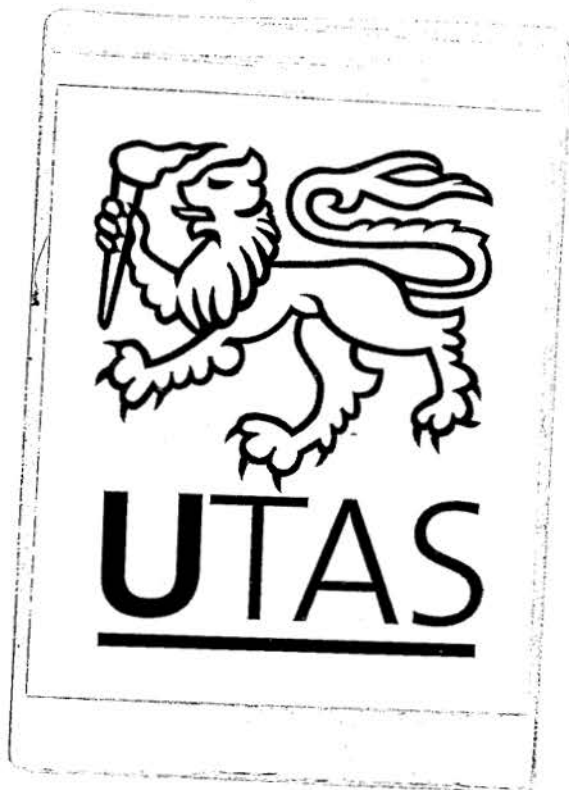
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### Abbreviations

A.O.T.	Archives Office of Tasmania, Hobart.
C.L.	Crowther Library, Hobart.
C.O.	Colonial Office
C.S.O.	Colonial Secretary's Office
D.O.	Diocesan Office, Hobart
L.J.R.O.	Lichfield Joint Record Office
L.L.M.	Latrobe Library, Melbourne
M.L.	Mitchell Library, Sydney
N.L.	National Library of Australia, Canberra
N.R.L.L.	Northern Regional Library, Launceston
P.R.O.	Public Records Office, London
T.C.	Tasmanian Collection, State Library, Hobart
T.U.L.A.	University of Tasmania Library Archives Division

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